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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Winter 1967

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COVER—Mary Mare Bissell, daughter of John Mare, was born in Edenton in February, 1785, and died there in November, 1836. She and her husband, Captain Nathaniel C. Bissell, are buried in St. Paul's churchyard. Photograph reproduced by courtesy of Colonel John F. Williams, Jr. For an article on John Mare and his family, see pages 18 to 52.

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THE MANUFACTURE AND USE OF BRICKS AT THE RALEIGH SETTLEMENT ON ROANOKE ISLAND

BY J. C. HARRINGTON*

Archaeological excavations in 1965 at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site on Roanoke Island contributed important information relative to the two questions: (1) Were brick and tile used by the Raleigh colonists? (2) If so, were they brought from England or made locally?

The Archivo General de Indias in Seville contains a deposition made under oath to the Spanish governor at Saint Augustine in 1600 by one "David Glavin, Irish soldier."¹ This was, in all probability, the Darby Glande listed as one of the members of the 1585 voyage, as was also the Darbie Glaven mentioned in John White's narrative of the 1587 voyage.² Glande's testimony dealt with his participation in the two colonizing ventures and provides information about the 1585 settlement not recorded elsewhere. One of the most intriguing of his claims has been translated as follows: "There, as soon as they had disembarked, they began to make brick and tiles for a fort and houses."³

Not all of Glande's deposition can be accepted at face value,⁴ but there seems to be no sound basis for questioning the alleged alacrity of the settlers in starting to make bricks and tiles. Even so, historians have been cautious about accepting this single bit of evidence, explicit and reliable as it appears to be. In referring to the above assertion by Glande, the historian David Quinn states: "This would

* Mr. Harrington, formerly resource studies advisor, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, is now retired and living at Richmond, Virginia. This paper was read in Raleigh on December 2, 1965, at the luncheon meeting of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities.

¹ David Beers Quinn (ed.), *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America Under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584* (London: Hakluyt Society [Second Series, No. CIV], 2 volumes, 1955), II, 834-838, hereinafter cited as Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*. The deposition is signed "David Glavid."

² Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, II, 519.

³ Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, II, 835.

⁴ Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, II, 519, 835.

suggest that at least some of the buildings of Roanoke Island had brick bases. . . ."⁵ In another place he writes: ". . . it is probable that brick was made during the 1585-6 settlement, but the evidence is not conclusive. . . ."⁶ Dr. Charles W. Porter III is a little more positive, writing that "The chimney and foundations [of the settlers' houses] were presumably of brick because the Irishman Darby Glante, later testified. . . ."⁷

Only one reference, other than Glante's deposition, gives any hint of how the colonists built their houses, and that tells only that the roofs of at least some of the buildings were thatched.⁸ Lacking more specific information, building practices of the period are the best, and only, source. Even this source must be considered in reference to several factors, such as the customary building practices of the colonists, size and intended permanency of the new structures, and available building materials. Thomas Hariot's *Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, although written primarily to recruit settlers, told of "divers sortes of trees," including oak, walnut, and "firre" [pine], suitable for "house and shiptimber."⁹ Even with an abundance of good timber, however, the colonists would have felt quite strongly the need for brick or stone for footings and fireplaces. Chimneys could be built of wattle-and-daub, but it would have been a difficult adjustment for an English builder of Raleigh's day to have laid wooden members directly on the ground.

Hariot noted the absence of suitable building stone in the vicinity of Roanoke Island, but until a source could be located he seemed confident that brick made from local clays was a feasible and acceptable substitute.¹⁰ The local clay appeared to be satisfactory for brickmaking, and there was no shortage of fuel to fire the kilns. The time required to make bricks would have been the main problem, since brickmaking could not be hurried without sacrifice to the quality of the product. If work had started on arrival of the colonists in August, as Glante stated, summer weather would have speeded up the operation, and it is conceivable that the first kiln could have been fired within a month. Normally, however, six months to a year would have been required.

⁵ Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, II, 835.

⁶ Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, I, 367.

⁷ Charles W. Porter III, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina: Part of the Settlement Sites of Sir Walter Raleigh's Colonies of 1585-1586 and 1587," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XX (January, 1943), 29.

⁸ Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, I, 282.

⁹ Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, I, 363.

¹⁰ Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, I, 363.

Hariot also commented on the abundance of shells for making lime, referring to the use of shell lime in the “. . . Iles of Tenet and Shepy [in Kent], and also in divers other places in England: Which kinde of lime is well knowne to bee as good as any other.”¹¹

The colonists apparently set to work at once erecting permanent houses, most of which were probably one-room cottages with sleeping space in the loft. Of concern here is the type of construction as a clue to the extent to which bricks might have been used. Having familiar building materials at hand, one can assume that traditional construction methods were followed. A review of building practices in rural Elizabethan England, therefore, should provide the best guide for the basic methods used in the Raleigh colony. Reference as to how the houses were built in other early colonies, particularly at Jamestown, should also be helpful.

Post-and-truss construction was the common method of building small houses and cottages in England at the time of the Raleigh settlement. C. F. Innocent in his book *The Development of English Building Construction* states that “this kind of construction reached its height in the sixteenth century. The buildings then erected are of this kind wherever the necessary timber was obtainable. . . .”¹² It consisted of a rigid skeleton of timbers supporting a roof truss. The roofing material was commonly thatch, although tile and stone-slates were used in some sections. Usually the spaces between the wooden wall members were filled with interwoven withes or laths and plastered with clay mixed with straw, a method called “wattle-and-daub.” Post-and-truss frames with wall spaces filled with wattle-and-daub is commonly referred to as “half-timbered” construction.¹³ The first step in constructing a building of this type, and the one relating directly to the present discussion, was to build a low, continuous foundation of brick or stone. On this base was placed a heavy timber sill, into which upright posts were inserted at intervals.

Although the post-and-truss technique for framed structures was customary in England in 1585, the “cruck” method had not died out and must have been known to the Raleigh colonists.¹⁴ In fact, it

¹¹ Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, I, 367-368.

¹² C. F. Innocent, *The Development of English Building Construction* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1916), 75, hereinafter cited as Innocent, *English Building Construction*.

¹³ For detailed description of this method of construction, see Innocent, *English Building Construction*, 125-126, and Harry Batsford and Charles Fry, *The English Cottage* (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd. [Third Edition, Revised], 1950), 24-38, hereinafter cited as Batsford and Fry, *The English Cottage*.

¹⁴ Batsford and Fry, *The English Cottage*, 25.

appears to have been used at Jamestown more than twenty years later.¹⁵ It refers to the method in which the basic framework was composed of curved or bent tree trunks, joined at the top and supporting a heavy ridge pole. This framing, which resembled a Gothic arch, carried the rafters and bracing, to which were attached the thatched roof and wattle-and-daub walls. But even if the Raleigh colonists had been inclined to use this outmoded method of construction, they would still have needed brick or stone for footings. By Tudor times, it was the practice to rest the slanting posts on low masonry walls, although in earlier times rough stone plinths were used.¹⁶

Other varieties of construction of that general period included various forms of palisaded walls (tree trunks or timbers placed upright in a trench)¹⁷ and a method sometimes used in the seventeenth century at Jamestown in which the wooden sills of a timber-framed building were supported on a series of posts sunk into the ground.¹⁸ This latter technique was practical when the first floor was elevated above the ground and ventilation desired below the floor. In addition to wall construction making use of wooden members, English cottages of that time also were built of stone, brick, and mud without supporting framework. The latter, still in use in parts of England, had various names, the most common being "cob." These methods were not likely to have been employed at Roanoke Island, and therefore are not relevant to the present discussion.

The typical English framed cottage of Elizabeth's day had only the bare ground for a floor, or more rarely a brick paving. One can assume that the former was the case at the Roanoke settlement, particularly in view of White's account of finding melons growing in the fort and houses when he returned in 1587.¹⁹

It is more difficult to say what the attitude would have been concerning the construction of fireplaces. The earlier rural cottages in England often had no fireplace or chimney, the fire being built directly on the dirt floor and the smoke seeping out through a special vent or elsewhere as best it could. The typical framed, wattle-and-daub, thatched cottage of Tudor England, however, had a large

¹⁵ Henry Chandlee Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's—Buried Cities of Romance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), 30-34, hereinafter cited as Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*.

¹⁶ Batsford and Fry, *The English Cottage*, 19.

¹⁷ Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, 30-31.

¹⁸ John L. Cotter, *Archaeological Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia* (Washington: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Archeological Research Series Number Four, 1958), 60-61, 84, 129-131.

¹⁹ Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, II, 524.

fireplace, usually lined with brick or stone, with a huge wooden lintel. The chimney, too, would normally have been of brick or stone. An Englishman of that day, however, not having stone or brick at hand, would have been perfectly capable of building the fireplace and chimney of the same wattle-and-daub construction used for filling the spaces between the wall framing of his house. Or, if bricks were scarce, he would probably have used them for the fireplace and resorted to sticks and mud for the chimney.

Prior to recent archaeological discoveries, the possibility of the cottages having had tile roofs would have seemed almost too absurd to warrant discussion, even in the light of Glандe's testimony. In spite of the fire hazard of thatched roofs and laws requiring the substitution of tile or slate, thatch persisted as the most common roof covering in England for many years after the Roanoke voyages, particularly on smaller nonurban houses. Nearly a century later at Jamestown, thatched roofs were common, and laws calling for the use of tile or slate were still being ignored. One problem was the difficulty in making satisfactory tiles. As late as 1649 it was claimed that the local brickmakers did not know how to make tiles.²⁰ One would have to assume, therefore, that practical considerations, as well as building precedent and experience, would have dictated the use of thatch by the Raleigh colonists.

Of interest, too, is the fact that Hariot, in discussing building needs and resources in the new land, referred to stone, bricks, and lime, but made no mention of tiles. Then there is the inference of thatch on even the better houses in Lane's account of the Indian plot, in which he wrote that the Indians planned to "beset my house, and put fire in the reedes, that the same was covered with. . . ." ²¹ This documentary evidence supports the common-sense conclusion that Glандe could have been correct in respect to brickmaking, but certainly not on the matter of making tiles.

The foregoing information was known in 1947 when the National Park Service began archaeological explorations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. The possibility of bricks and tiles having been made and used by the colonists was not taken too seriously, and the prospect of finding a brick foundation, or even the remnants of a

²⁰ J. C. Harrington, "Seventeenth Century Brickmaking and Tilemaking at Jamestown, Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXIII (January, 1950), 18, hereinafter cited as Harrington, "Brickmaking at Jamestown."

²¹ Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, I, 282.

fireplace, was considered unlikely.²² Archaeologists have a tendency to mistrust such uncorroborated evidence as Darby Glande's testimony. Nevertheless, a sharp watch was kept for fragments of brick or tile. Even if none of the test trenches crossed directly over a house site, it was considered likely that bricks from such a site would more likely be scattered and more readily found than other building refuse, such as mortar, nails, charcoal, and ashes.

During the earlier explorations in the Fort Raleigh area beginning in 1947, only six fragments of old bricks were found. By "old" is meant handmade, sand-struck bricks, rather than the later wire-cut type. Five of the six fragments are from conventional bricks; the sixth is from a thin "Dutch" brick and not of concern to the present study. Even with whole bricks it is impossible to determine more than the general period of their manufacture, while small fragments tell very little. One of the pieces from the earlier excavations is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick, which conforms to brick of the Tudor period, and thus does not eliminate the possibility of its association with the settlement.²³ It was found at the same level and near one of the Indian campfires uncovered in the partially filled fort ditch. Another similar fragment was found in the fort ditch at a depth of 3 feet, but is too badly eroded to provide even an approximate measurement. It must have been picked up along the nearby shore, as it is quite clearly water worn. The other three fragments look old, but were found near the surface, which precludes any conclusion as to when they were deposited.

Only one fragment of roofing tile was found in all the archaeological excavating at Fort Raleigh prior to 1965. It came from the very bottom of the fort ditch and must have been dropped there soon after the fort was abandoned.²⁴ On the basis of this single fragment, its location notwithstanding, tilemaking by the colonists, or even the importation of tiles from England, could not be considered proven. Just as with the five brick fragments, it was highly suggestive, but needed corroboration, even when viewed in conjunction with Glande's statement.

The earlier explorations failed to locate the settlement site, and no further testing was undertaken until major construction was started

²² Jean Carl Harrington, *Search for the Cittie of Raleigh, Archeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina* (Washington: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Archeological Research Series Number Six, 1962), 34, hereinafter cited as Harrington, *Cittie of Raleigh*.

²³ Harrington, *Cittie of Raleigh*, 23.

²⁴ Harrington, *Cittie of Raleigh*, 23.

in 1963. At that time, certain areas were checked by trenching with power equipment, both prior to and during construction of roads, parking areas, and buildings. Much of the area in the general vicinity of the fort was tested, but no additional archaeological work was carried out in the more likely section just west of the fort. Sand dunes and heavy vegetative cover make this location difficult to explore. In fact, even narrow trenches, if carried to the necessary depth, would injure the trees and seriously alter the terrain of this attractive part of the site. It has been accepted that the best chance of finding significant remains in this critical area would be by pure accident—possibly under a blown-down tree, in the eroding bank along the shore, or in a trench being dug for utility lines. The last is exactly what happened.

In 1959 a trench was being dug to carry power and water lines across the road to the restored fort. A foot below the pavement and about 35 feet from the outer edge of the fort ditch, the workmen encountered what they thought to be a brick floor. Work was stopped, the utility trench relocated, and the feature covered and marked for future investigation. Opportunity to check this discovery did not come until the spring of 1965. Excavation of the "brick floor" turned out to be much more of an undertaking than anticipated. A detailed archaeological report on the excavation of these remains has just been published.²⁵ The present article, therefore, will deal primarily with the implication of the discovery of bricks and tiles found in association with a sixteenth-century feature on Roanoke Island.

The feature referred to above has not been identified with certainty, but would appear to have had some military function, and may be related to the nearby earthen fort restored in 1950. A portion of it forms a nine-foot square, sunk one and a half feet below the original ground line. The "brick floor," accidentally uncovered in 1959, turned out to be a circular fire pit about two feet in diameter. Two other similar fire areas were found immediately adjacent to the first one, and all within the sunken square. They contained quantities of charcoal and ashes, but more interestingly, a number of bricks and brickbats. There were also a great many Indian pottery sherds, the neck of a ceramic bottle of European origin, and a few fragments of roofing tiles. This miscellaneous material was imbedded in clay, which had been hardened from the heat of the fires. It was not as

²⁵ Jean Carl Harrington, *An Outwork at Fort Raleigh: Further Archeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina* (Richmond: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1966).

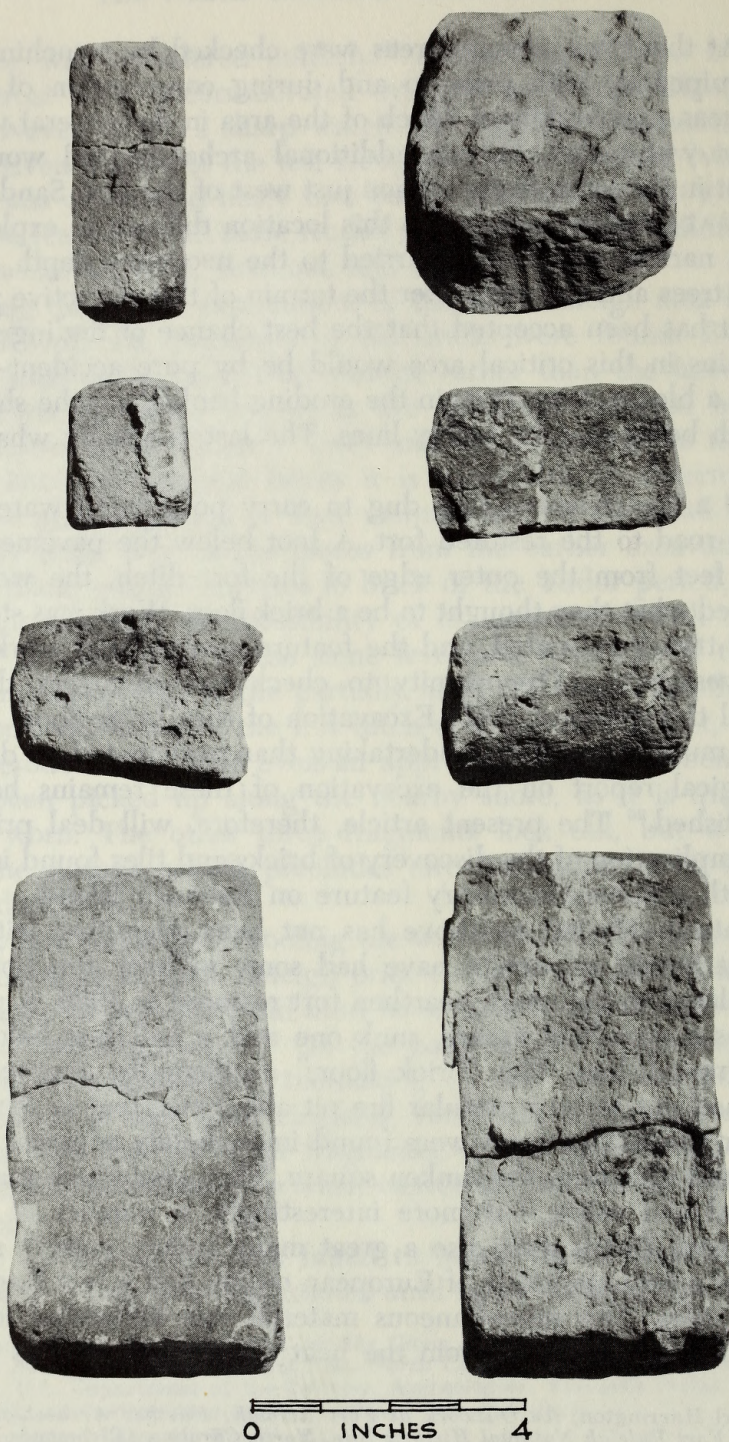


Figure 1. Examples of abraded bricks and two of the whole bricks. What appears to be remnants of mortar on some of the bricks is the clay in which they were embedded in the fire pits.

hard as the bricks, but sufficiently similar to explain the initial identification of the 1959 discovery as a brick floor. Laboratory tests showed this cementing material to be identical, physically and chemically, to the natural clayey sand lying below the humus zone in this locality.²⁶

One interpretation of these finds is that Indians used the structure after the colonists had left, just as they had the fort where they had built campfires in the partially filled fort ditch. No bricks were found in these hearths at the fort, but an earlier Indian campfire under the fort parapet contained fire-fractured stones, presumably used for supporting the typical pointed pottery vessels.²⁷

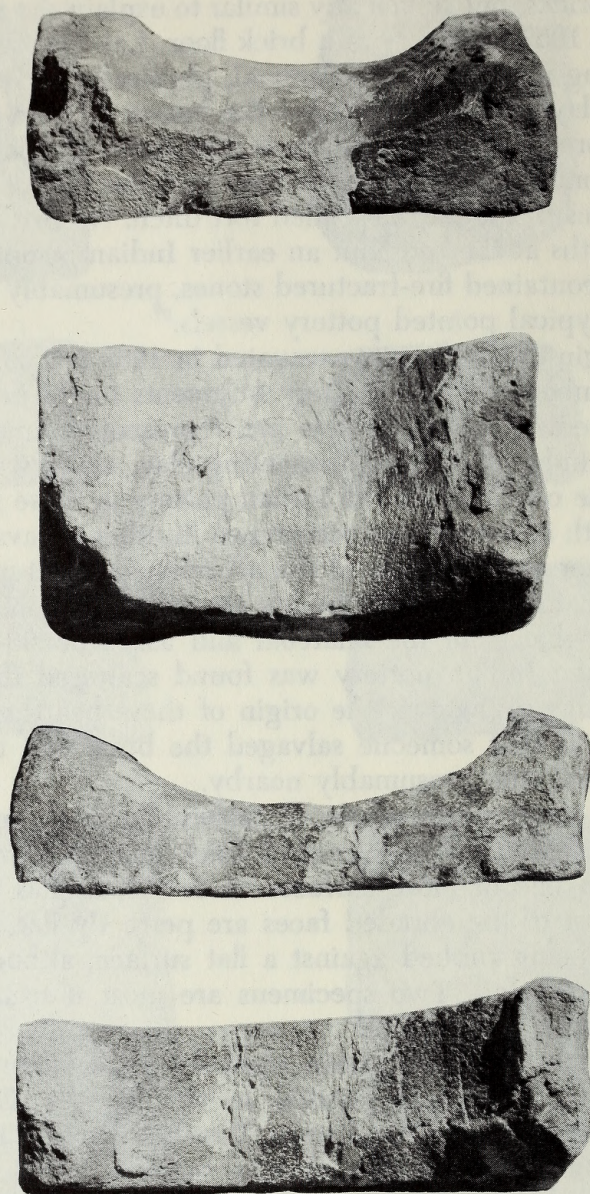
Indian origin of the firepits excavated in 1965 is also suggested by the large number of Indian pottery fragments found in and near the features. Several separate vessels are represented, many fragments having been imbedded in the cementing clay, along with bricks and brickbats. The concentration of Indian pottery in these small hearths, compared with its infrequent occurrence in other excavations nearby, points to rather extensive use of the abandoned structure by Indians. Another point in favor of the Indian theory is the complete absence of European objects in the charcoal and ashes outside the firepits, whereas broken Indian pottery was found scattered throughout the sunken structure. Whatever the origin of these hearths, the point of concern here is that someone salvaged the brick and tile fragments from a Colonial site, presumably nearby.

Except for six or seven whole, or restorable, bricks and a few sizable brickbats, most of the pieces of brick had been worn down intentionally on one or more surfaces. A few examples are shown in Figure 1. Most of the abraded faces are perfectly flat, obviously resulting from being rubbed against a flat surface, although the faces of some are rounded. Two specimens are most unusual, displaying concave surfaces (Figure 2).

Clearly these bricks had been used for other than construction purposes prior to being deposited in the hearths. One can only speculate on what this use had been. Possibly the concave specimens served for smoothing wooden objects, such as shafts for pikes, or handles for tools. The flat one might have been used for polishing armor or sharpening swords, axes, or other implements. It does not

²⁶ Sam H. Patterson, "Investigation of brick, tile, and 'mortar' and their possible raw materials from archeological excavations, Fort Raleigh, North Carolina," (unpublished report released in open files by the United States Geological Survey, September 20, 1965; copies available for consultation in the Geological Survey Library, Washington, D. C., and in the office of the superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Manteo), 7, hereinafter cited as Patterson, USGS report.

²⁷ Harrington, *Cittie of Raleigh*, 40.



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Figure 2. Top and side views of the two concave specimens. The illustrations used in this article were supplied by the author.

seem likely that they were employed by housewives—Indian or white—for grinding corn or in other domestic pursuits. The flat surfaces and the small size of some of the specimens seem to preclude any such use. One specimen, for example, was abraded on all six sides until it was reduced to only $1\frac{1}{8}$ x $1\frac{3}{4}$ x $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches (smallest example in Figure 1).

Brick size is of interest, but not too helpful for dating purposes. Complete measurements can be secured on only four bricks but width and thickness are available on several fragments. The whole bricks are identical in size: $8\frac{1}{4}$ x $4\frac{1}{8}$ x $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Following are measurements on a total of seventeen specimens, including the four whole bricks:

Length		Width		Thickness	
Inches	Number	Inches	Number	Inches	Number
$8\frac{1}{4}$	4	$4\frac{1}{4}$	1	$2\frac{1}{4}$	5
		$4\frac{1}{8}$	10	$2\frac{1}{8}$	7
		4	5	2	3
		$3\frac{7}{8}$	1	$1\frac{7}{8}$	1
				$1\frac{3}{4}$	1

The range reflected in the above table is no greater than expected in bricks fired in the same kiln and formed in the same set of molds. Bricks found stacked in a kiln excavated at Jamestown varied by 1 inch in length, $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch in width, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness.²⁸ Such variation may be due to the character of the clay, extent of puddling and curing, and conditions of firing. In discussing bricks in sixteenth-century English buildings, Nathaniel Lloyd points out that in a single course any of the three dimensions may vary half an inch or more, which he attributes, in part, to lack of care in making the wooden molds.²⁹

Even so, the dimensions of the general run of brick of any given period fall within a relatively close range. Bricks in English buildings dating from 1550 to 1600 are generally 9 to $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, 4 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, and $2\frac{3}{8}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. In his rather lengthy table of brick sizes for English buildings, Lloyd records none as small in all dimensions as the ones from Fort Raleigh.³⁰ Their counterparts are found, however, in some of the buildings in Virginia dating from the first half of the seventeenth century. Those in the church tower at Jamestown, for example, which date from about 1640, are $8\frac{3}{8}$ x $4\frac{1}{4}$ x $2\frac{3}{8}$. But the majority of seventeenth-century bricks

²⁸ Harrington, "Brickmaking at Jamestown," 35.

²⁹ Nathaniel Lloyd, *A History of English Brickwork* (London: H. G. Montgomery; New York: W. Helburn, 1925), 11-12, hereinafter cited as Lloyd, *English Brickwork*.

³⁰ Lloyd, *English Brickwork*, 89-100.

in the Virginia colony are closer to those in sixteenth-century English buildings.

The 1571 charter of the Tylers' and Bricklayers' Company established the regulation brick size at $9 \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.³¹ The next attempt to provide uniformity in bricks was the 1625 proclamation, which set the size at $9 \times 4\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.³² A casual glance at tabulations of brick sizes for buildings of that period in England suggests that these regulations were ignored, but actually the variation may have been due to technical factors and carelessness, and not to intentional flaunting of the law. It would be unsafe to draw any conclusion as to period of manufacture of the Fort Raleigh bricks from size alone. The sample is too small to be of real statistical value, and other considerations are of greater importance than size in determining the age and provenience of these bricks.

Although the Fort Raleigh bricks are relatively uniform in overall dimensions, they are more irregular individually than others the writer has observed from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century structures. For example, the thickness measured at opposite ends of a given brick may vary as much as half an inch. This could have been caused by improper treatment while drying, or by stacking the bricks in the kiln before they were cured adequately. Other evidences of hurrying the manufacturing process can be seen, such as large interior voids and pitted exterior surfaces. It is possible, of course, that we are dealing with discards, although some of the bricks in the group are quite uniform in shape and texture.

The tile fragments recovered from the 1965 excavations and the one found earlier in the fort ditch are typical of the flat, shingle tiles of the period. They were also called "pin tiles," derived from the method of attachment. Two holes near one end were punched in the tile while still in the mold. This sometimes resulted in a thin layer of clay completely or partially covering the bottom of the hole, which was easily punched out when a wooden pin was inserted. With short pins, or pegs, having been driven into the holes, the tiles were hung over laths, spaced at proper intervals across the rafters.

The tiles found at Fort Raleigh are especially hard and dense, and of uniform texture. They appear to be a better quality than many of the tiles found at Jamestown, particularly those known to have been made in the Virginia colony. Enough fragments were recovered to

³¹ Lloyd, *English Brickwork*, 12, 46.

³² Lloyd, *English Brickwork*, 12, 46-47.

account for about three whole tiles. They probably represent more than that number, however, since very few pieces could be joined. It is quite evident that these fragments were brought in a broken state to the area where they were excavated, and not as whole tiles. Overall size of the tiles cannot be determined, but they are consistently $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. This conforms with the majority of tiles found at Jamestown, although their thickness varies from $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch. Those from the kiln excavated at Jamestown are nearer $\frac{5}{8}$ inch, which was also the thickness prescribed in an earlier English statute.³³

The next matter to consider is where these brick and tile were made and how they got to the north end of Roanoke Island. Undoubtedly, the bricks were manufactured for normal construction purposes, presumably for foundations, fireplaces, and chimneys. It is hard to conceive of the colonists making bricks just for use as tool sharpeners or armor polishers. If we can trust Glande, it was also planned to use bricks in the fort construction, as well as the houses. We can be reasonably certain that this objective was never achieved, since the fort's excavation yielded only two brick fragments. This assumes, of course, that the restored earthwork is, in fact, Ralph Lane's "new fort."

If the bricks in question had been salvaged from a house ruin, some evidence of lime mortar might have been left on the whole bricks and the several brickbats that had not been reused as abraders. However, this is not the case. What at first appeared to be a thin layer of mortar on some of the bricks, was later determined to be the fire-hardened clay in which the bricks, tile, and other refuse were imbedded in the hearths. In any event, it could not be mortar from laid bricks, since it occurs on the abraded surfaces of some of the smallest specimens.

It is difficult to see how, or when, the colonists could have salvaged bricks from a structure. Assuming Glande's testimony was correct and the colonists actually made bricks and used them in their first houses, these buildings would not have been in such ruinous condition that bricks would have been salvaged from them, even by the settlers who came two years later. We know that when the second group arrived in 1587 they found the houses still standing, and that they set about to repair them.³⁴ The evidence, therefore, is fairly strong that the bricks in question were never used in the construction of a building. This does not mean, however, that the colonists

³³ Harrington, "Brickmaking at Jamestown," 37.

³⁴ Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, II, 524.

did not use bricks in their houses; only that these particular bricks were not so used.

The second major question is whether bricks were actually made by the colonists, as claimed by Darby Glante. Laboratory tests helped in this instance. Samples of sub-surface clay, which is actually a clayey sand, were tested by the United States Geological Survey, as were also several of the brick fragments, as well as samples of the hardened clay from the hearths. The following is quoted from the report on these tests:

The archeological specimens and clayey sands were investigated by several methods. All samples and specimens were examined by a binocular microscope. . . . Test pieces of the "local clay" were made and fired along with chips of brick fragments. The mineralogy of a "local clay" and several archeological specimens was determined by optical and X-ray methods.³⁵

Technical details of the laboratory tests need not be included here; conclusions as to the probable origin of the bricks will suffice.

The mineral content of all the archeological specimens from Fort Raleigh, North Carolina, except the tile, is virtually the same as that of clayey sand, referred to in the sample descriptions submitted as "local clay"; and the brick fragments and "local clay" have essentially identical physical properties when fired. The conclusion that all the Fort Raleigh specimens, except the tile, were made from local materials, therefore, is reasonably certain.³⁶

Accepting this evidence that bricks were made locally, one can properly ask if they necessarily were made by the Raleigh colonists. The natural response to this question is, "If not by the colonists, who else?" Although two parties were sent from Jamestown in the seventeenth century to look for the settlement, and Lawson visited the site in 1701,³⁷ there is no evidence that any attempt by Europeans again to settle on Roanoke Island was made until the early eighteenth century. Even that was unsuccessful. The Outer Banks did not benefit immediately from new legislation and other stimuli to the establishment of towns in the Carolina colony. In fact, a century passed before there were more than a few isolated land owners living on the island. Land records covering property in the general vicinity of the fort can be traced back only to 1803.³⁸ It is not known when Indians last

³⁵ Patterson, USGS report, 3.

³⁶ Patterson, USGS report, 8.

³⁷ Frances Latham Harriss (ed.), *Lawson's History of North Carolina* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Second Edition, 1952), 61.

³⁸ Harrington, *Cittie of Raleigh*, 48.

lived or hunted on Roanoke Island, but they almost certainly were not building campfires in the fort ditch or in any remnant of the original settlement by the time there was sufficient white population to have started the manufacture of brick.

The tests made by the Geological Survey show that the bricks were not fired to a temperature above 1,575° F., since the chemical illite, which is destroyed at about this temperature, is still present. The report concludes that these bricks are so weak and friable "it seems improbable that such poor brick would have been shipped from Europe. . . ." ³⁹ Brick kilns, however, do not yield uniformly good bricks, and it is conceivable that the first hurried attempt to make bricks in 1585 was not overly efficient. The better bricks might have been used for construction, while the underfired, softer ones were thrown out. Could not these discards have been the ones subsequently used for a purpose other than construction?

Laboratory analysis helps here, too. Test pieces made from the local clay and fired to 2,000° F. showed the same physical characteristics as the bricks. So even the best specimens from the kiln would not have been good bricks. This does not mean that the colonists would have refused to use the results of their brickmaking efforts for construction purposes. It might be hazardous to build a wall with such poor bricks, but it is doubtful if that would have deterred a desperate and determined settler from putting them in house footings and fireplaces. It is possible, however, that the poor results of the first effort discouraged further attempts at brickmaking and that relatively few were ever made. After the initial effort, it must have been apparent to an experienced brickmaker that Hariot's appraisal of the native resources was inaccurate in respect to the clay being "excellent good" for bricks.

Archaeology and modern laboratory technology have thus joined hands in the vindication of Darby Glande—at least in respect to one of his allegations. But what about tilemaking, which Glande also claimed was started as soon as the settlers landed?

Unlike bricks, laboratory tests show quite clearly that the tiles found in the excavations were not made locally. The report on these tests reads in part as follows:

The tile fragments . . . , as observed under the microscope, contain much more fine-grained material and are appreciably redder than either the other archeological specimens or the fired "local clay." . . . That the tile could not have been made from a raw material such as "local clay"

³⁹ Patterson, USGS report, 8.

sample 2 is indicated by the abundance of fine-grained material and the presence of hematite which is not abundant in the "local clay" or in the test pieces fired at high temperatures. Also, chips of the tile fired at 2,000°F are much harder, more dense, and redder than the "local clay" fired at the same temperature.⁴⁰

Not only were the tiles in question not made from the same material as the bricks, but usable tiles could not possibly have been made from this earth.

The above results do not, by themselves, rule out local manufacture, since earth of the type used in the tiles may occur elsewhere in eastern North Carolina. It seems highly unlikely, however, that the colonists would have brought in material for tiles at the same time that they were making bricks from local clay. There is an additional argument in support of this deduction. These were well-made tiles and must have been produced in an established plant, rather than in a makeshift operation suggested by the poorly made bricks. The only reasonable conclusion, therefore, is that they arrived by ship from Europe.

The association of the tile with the bricks in the firepits, and the presence of a tile fragment of identical thickness and appearance at the bottom of the fort ditch, make it reasonably certain that the tile is of the same period as the brick. This type of tile would have no practical use except to cover a building, and it does not seem likely that fewer than enough to roof at least one cottage would have been brought to the colony. This would mean that as many as 2,000 tiles, as well as possibly a kiln-load of bricks, are waiting to be discovered by some future archaeologist.

Since Lane himself lived in a thatched cottage, what could have been the intended use of roofing tiles? Perhaps it was planned to roof the chapel with something more fitting, which suggests the possibility that the tiles were associated with the second venture of 1587, when colonizing plans were on a more permanent basis.

Evidence for the kiln having been in the general vicinity of the fort, although not conclusive, is suggested by the results of the laboratory testing. A second sample of earth, which superficially resembled the one from the archaeological trench, was secured half a mile west of the fort. Tests showed it to be "much lower in silt and clay, and when wet probably would not develop sufficient plasticity to be workable."⁴¹ Although only suggestive at this point, these results

⁴⁰ Patterson, USGS report, 6.

⁴¹ Patterson, USGS report, 3.

present a possible approach for narrowing down the general area for further exploration in search of the settlement site.

On the basis of present knowledge, the following conclusions seem valid: Although bricks were made by the Raleigh colonists, the results were not too satisfactory, and there is no evidence that the bricks were used for construction purposes. The location of the brickyard and kiln is not known but was probably not far from the site of the restored fort. The colonists were in possession of roofing tiles, which presumably were brought from England. There is no evidence that the colonists attempted to make roofing tile or that tiles were used on a structure at the Raleigh settlement. The new evidence does not add any clue to the settlement's location, although the possibility of its being in the vicinity of the fort is enhanced. In addition to limiting the area of search for the settlement site, there is a greater possibility than previously thought that durable construction remains may be found. And even if bricks and tiles were never incorporated into a structure, it is reasonable to assume that there exists a concentration of these materials.

JOHN MARE: A COMPOSITE PORTRAIT

BY HELEN BURR SMITH AND ELIZABETH V. MOORE *

[*Authors' Note:* John Mare came near having two portraits, two biographical studies so unlike that the subjects might easily have been two different men. The details concerning one of this dissimilar pair were assembled in New York and for the other in North Carolina by compilers who had never heard of each other or, more to the point, of each other's interest in John Mare. It was only by accident that the two widely differing preliminary sketches could be put together as a portrait of one man. Neither sketch was complete when collaboration began. All of the available details of Mare's life through 1774 were assembled by Helen Burr Smith in New York and of his later life, with certain exceptions which will be pointed out, were assembled by Elizabeth V. Moore in Edenton.

The late Edward W. Spires of Edenton, clerk of court in Chowan County for many years and secretary of Unanimity Lodge in Edenton, once idly remarked that John Mare, a well-documented merchant and politician, of Edenton was an artist, though he could not recall how he got that idea.¹ Coming from someone so accustomed to weighing facts, the statement deserved careful consideration. Diligent inquiry into the origin of locally-owned portraits dating from the last quarter of the eighteenth century failed to reveal any signed by John Mare. A further check on the very few mentioned in wills, inventories, or letters was equally unsuccessful. None was known to be in North Carolina museums or collections of paintings. There was no visible evidence that the busy John Mare of Edenton ever picked up a brush and palette. As a last resort the records of Unanimity Lodge were rechecked by William P. Goodwin, who succeeded Spires as secretary, to see whether any clue could be drawn from them. There was nothing, not even a hint. Only one other source of information remained, the Masonic lodge from which Mare had transferred to Unanimity Lodge, and it seemed presumptuous to ask for such a search of its records as had proved futile in Edenton.

* Miss Smith, of New York City, is a frequent contributor to the *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Society Record*, *American Collector*, and *Antiques*; Miss Moore, of Edenton, pursues the study of local history as an avocation.

¹ Helen Burr Smith to Elizabeth V. Moore, September 8, 1964. "One of the William (Joseph) Williams descendants [Colonel John F. Williams, Jr.] who lives in California . . . told me he made a trip to Edenton years ago to search for data on John Mare and William (Joseph) Williams. He saw Mr. E. W. Spires, clerk of the court, so, of course, he told Mr. Spires that John Mare was an artist."

At that discouraging point the *Book-of-the-Month Club News* for February, 1958, used for a cover illustration a painting owned by the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the "Portrait of a Man" painted by John Mare. Here was proof that at least a man with that name had been painting in New York before a man with the same name had moved from New York to Edenton. The art editor of the bulletin put the writers in touch with each other, and this article is the result.^{2]}

I

"John Mare Jun^r., Limner,"³ was born in New York in 1739, the eldest of the three children⁴ of John Mare and his wife Mary Bes, who were married in the Dutch Church in New York, April 26, 1738.⁵ The father was English, from Devonshire,⁶ the mother presumably of Dutch origin. The second child, Mary, must have been only a year or two younger than her brother, and had two small children by the time her father made his will in the early fall of 1761. The third child, Henry, much younger, was baptized November 5, 1749.⁷

The Mares were evidently Anglicans, members of Trinity parish in New York City. The entry concerning the parents' marriage is the only time the name appears in the records of the Dutch Church, while at least one child and one grandchild were baptized in the Anglican church. Most of the records of Trinity Church for the third quarter

² Permission granted by the editors to use material from Helen Burr Smith, "John Mare (1739-c.1795), New York Portrait Painter, with Notes on the Two William Williams," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXV (October, 1951), 355-399, hereinafter cited as Smith, "John Mare"; William P. Goodwin, secretary of Unanimity Lodge No. 7, A. F. and A. M., Edenton, Charles A. Harris, grand secretary of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina, and Wendell K. Walker, director of the library and museum of the Grand Lodge of the state of New York, searched Masonic records not open to the public and furnished needed information to the authors.

³ *New-York Historical Society Collection 1885*, 206, hereinafter cited as *NYHS Coll. 1885*. Other collections of the New-York Historical Society will be similarly cited.

⁴ In a time when a man was expected not to marry until he could support a wife (about nineteen or twenty years of age), girls usually married at sixteen or seventeen. The birth of Mary Mare's son a good year before John's points to the probability that her brother was older than she. If John Mare had been younger, there would normally have been a greater interval between the two babies. As for Henry Mare, his parents had been married more than eleven years when he was baptized, clear evidence that he was considerably younger than John and Mary.

⁵ "Marriages from 1639 to 1801 in the Reformed Dutch Church—New Amsterdam and New York City," *Collection of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society*, IX, 162, hereinafter cited as "Dutch Church Marriages."

⁶ *NYHS Coll. 1898*, 36; "Dutch Church Marriages," IX, 162.

⁷ "A Registry of Christenings Kept by the Rev. John Ogilvie Began June ye 9th 1749," manuscript in the parish office of Trinity Episcopal Church, New York City, hereinafter cited as Ogilvie Registry. Henry Mare's baptism was the third performed by Ogilvie after he returned from his ordination in England. The entry reads: "New York November 5, 1749, Henry, son of John & Mary Mairs."

of the eighteenth century were destroyed by fire,⁸ but the Reverend John Ogilvie's personal "Registry" of the baptisms he performed partially replaces the lost parish registers.

John Mare, Sr., described himself at least once as a "Mariner,"⁹ though when he was admitted to the freedom of the city of New York, January 9, 1754, he was listed as a "Labourer."¹⁰ His possible illiteracy¹¹ did not keep him from prospering. At a time when hardly one man in four in New York City had property worth £60,¹² he acquired personal property and real estate of sufficient value for one lot to be mortgaged for at least £150. It was that lot, described in a 1761 mortgage and devised by the father to the son, which identified the latter as an artist, for when he in his turn mortgaged it ten years later, he described himself as a "Portrait-Painter."¹³

John Mare, Sr., died before December 5, 1766,¹⁴ and his widow presumably before December 4, 1771.¹⁵ Of his son Henry Mare's history nothing is known, and not much more of his daughter Mary's. Her father's will, dated October 6, 1761, referred to her as "my daughter Mary Williams" and to her children as "my Grandson William Williams" and "my little Granddaughter named Mary Williams."¹⁶ The grandson, William Williams, will be the subject of study later in this article.

In 1759 John Mare, Jr., was confident enough of his skill to go to Albany seeking commissions. He did not go alone. The next spring the

⁸ In 1751 and again in 1776, "Records of Trinity Church Parish, New York City," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Society Record*, LXVII (July, 1936), 201.

⁹ New York County Will Books, Surrogate's office, New York City, Liber 25, 414, hereinafter cited as New York County Will Books; see also *NYHS Coll. 1908*, 280.

¹⁰ *NYHS Coll. 1885*, 179. Becoming a free man of the city of New York meant swearing to obey the laws and pay one's taxes. See Herbert L. Osgood and Others, (eds.), *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675-1776* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., First Series, 8 volumes, 1905), III, 392-393, hereinafter cited as *Minutes of the Common Council*.

¹¹ It may have been illness rather than illiteracy which made it necessary for him to sign by mark his will and a mortgage to Andrew Marcellus, both dated October 6, 1761. His will mentions his "low state of health." See Mortgages Liber 1, 252, in Surrogate's Office, New York City, hereinafter cited as Mortgages Liber.

¹² *NYHS Coll. 1945*, Chapter VI, Note 101, and the text to which it pertains, showing the relative economic status of adult white male freeholders of New York County.

¹³ John Mare, Jr., to Ennis Graham, merchant, mortgage dated December 4, 1771, registered March 10, 1772, Mortgages Liber 2, 503.

¹⁴ His will was proved that day.

¹⁵ By the terms of his father's will, John Mare, Jr., was not to come into possession of Lot 38 until after his mother's death or remarriage, and there is no hint of the latter.

¹⁶ The order in which they are named, and the word "little" applied to the granddaughter, suggests that the grandson, less than two years old, was the older of the two children.

Reverend John Ogilvie, then rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany,¹⁷ was called upon to baptize the child of former parishioners at Trinity. He noted it in his "Registry": "*Albany* April 15, 1760—John son of John and Ann Mairs Mother's Maiden Name Ann Morris."¹⁸ It has not proved possible to discover Ann Morris' background or any further mention of her or her child. The baby was not mentioned in his grandfather's will made eighteen months after his birth, as Mary's children were; and Ann Mare did not sign the mortgage of her husband's lot in 1771 or give her consent to the disposal of property in which she had a dower right, as was required by English law. Apparently she and the child had both died.

The earliest portrait ever attributed to John Mare is that of Henry Livingston,¹⁹ a member of the great Hudson Valley family, signed and dated: "Jn^o Mare/Pinx^t/1760." It could have been painted at Livingston Manor during Mare's return trip to New York, or later in the city, where Livingston represented Dutchess County in the Provincial Assembly. The portrait, however, is now considered to be of questionable authenticity. There is a family tradition that an unsigned, undated portrait of Henry's brother Robert Gilbert Livingston²⁰ was also painted by Mare. The slant of the eyes, though, the use of landscape background, the comparative youthfulness of the sitter, and his marked resemblance to the subject of John Wollaston's portrait of Robert

¹⁷ Milton W. Hamilton, "John Mare's Portrait of Sir John Johnson," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XLIII (October, 1959), 450, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, "Portrait of Sir John Johnson." Ogilvie had returned to Albany after the capture of Fort Niagara by troops with whom he served as chaplain. See Smith, "John Mare," 359.

¹⁸ Ogilvie Registry, in which the name *Mare* is consistently misspelled *Mairs*. The marriage record of John Mare and Ann Morris has not been found; it was probably destroyed with the other records of Trinity Church in 1776.

¹⁹ Dutchess County [N.Y.] Historical Society Year Book 1939, 26, 29; *New-York Historical Society Annual Report for the Year 1942*, 18-21, hereinafter cited as *NYHS Annual Report*; also information from Willis L. M. Reese, a descendant, who owned the portrait in 1951. Henry Livingston, born at Kingston, N.Y., and baptized September 8, 1714, was the second son of Gilbert and Cornelia (Beekman) Livingston. About 1741-1742 he married Susanna Conklin. From 1759 through 1768 he was a member of the General Assembly of the province. He served as colonel of a New York regiment which fought at Monmouth Court House. He died February 10, 1799. See Smith, "John Mare," 387; see also John Richard Alden (ed.), *The War of the Revolution*, by Christopher Ward (New York: Macmillan Company, 2 volumes, 1952), II, 582.

²⁰ Rita Susswein Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1726-1776* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1938), 44, hereinafter cited as Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts*; Edward Brockholst Livingston, *The Livingstons of Livingston Manor* (New York: Privately printed, 1910); Florence Van Rensselaer, *The Livingston Family in America* (New York: Privately printed, 1949); Mrs. Philip K. Condict to Helen Burr Smith, letter dated August 1, 1951. Robert Gilbert Livingston, born at Kingston, N. Y., January 11, 1713, was the eldest son of Gilbert and Cornelia (Beekman) Livingston. On November 3, 1740, he married Catherine McPhaedres. He died in New York City before September 4, 1789. See Smith, "John Mare," 389.

R. Livingston (cousin of the other two), all suggest that the Robert Gilbert Livingston portrait is a copy by Mare of an original painted by Wollaston some ten years earlier.

By the fall of 1761, when his father made his will, Mare was apparently settled in New York,²¹ although the first official record of his activity as an artist was that of his admittance to the freedom of the city as "John Mare Jun^r., Limner," October 1, 1765.²² An incident which occurred during the following summer proved that he had established a reputation for satisfactory work. In March, 1766, the Sons of Liberty advanced the idea that the province of New York should erect a statue of William Pitt in appreciation of his efforts in getting the Stamp Act repealed. In June the Assembly accepted and acted on this suggestion, commissioning a London sculptor to execute not only the statue of Pitt but also a statue of his jealous sovereign, King George III, to be erected in New York at the same time.²³ The members of the Common Council of the city, equally enthusiastic about Pitt and equally wary of King George's temper, had taken even earlier action, most of it prudently omitted from their minutes. Whether they commissioned an English artist to paint a portrait of Pitt, or employed William Davis to buy one abroad, or simply accepted one from him as a gift is not surely known. Neither is it known whether they commissioned Mare to paint a portrait of the King (there were numerous engravings to work from) or simply let it be known that they needed one and would buy the most acceptable one offered to them. The minutes of their meeting on June 10, 1766, recorded the following:

Mr. Mayor Informed this Board that William Davis of this City Mariner hath lately Delivered to him to be Presented to this Board the picture of the Right Honourable William Pitt, Sat in an Elegant and Genteel frame, and this Board in order to Demonstrate the Great value and esteem they have for the person of so great a Patriot & friend to America as the said William Pitt, do hereby in turn for the Compliment of the said William Davis, ORDER that the Freedom of this Corporation be prepared & presented to him, & that the Clerk prepare one accordingly & deliver the same to Mr. Mayor who is desired to present it to the said William Davis with the thanks of this Board.²⁴

²¹ This inference is based on the fact that his father's will should have referred to him as "my son John Mare of Albany" if he were still living there.

²² *NYHS Coll.* 1885, 206.

²³ Alexander J. Wall, "The Statues of King George III and the Honorable William Pitt Erected in New York City, 1770," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, IV (July, 1920), 37.

²⁴ *Minutes of the Common Council*, VII, 20; *NYHS Coll.* 1885, 538-539.

There was no perceptible fervor in the businesslike entry immediately preceding that, which

ORDERED the mayor Issue his warrant to the Treasurer of this City to pay to John Mare Jun^r. or order the sum of £24 for the Painting of his present Majesty which he presented to this Corporation.²⁵

The minutes made the Common Council appear merely to have accepted with grace two portraits which happened to have been given to them at the same time. It is more likely that they kept the portrait of Pitt, which they really wanted, out of sight until the best New York artist available could "present" them with a portrait of King George. The freedom of the city for one and £24 for the other were rather generous expressions of gratitude, if that is all they were. There is no record of the fate of the King's portrait and no trace of it has ever been found.

Three paintings, however, have survived from the following year. A portrait of John Keteltas²⁶ of New York City, signed and dated "Jn.^o Mare./ Pinx^t./1767," is one of the most characteristic examples of Mare's work but is more famous as "the first, widely known *trompe l'oeil* in American Art history."²⁷ On the pleated ruffle of the sitter's wristband is a common housefly, "the only case . . . in American painting where an insect was put into a portrait."²⁸

For certain minds it is still a temptation to try brushing the insect away; and if such an impulse is a tribute to artistic quality, Mare should be acknowledged as a master. His technical feat is amazing even to the sophisticated eye. . . .²⁹

A portrait of an unknown young man, signed and dated "Jn^o Mare./ Pinx^t./1767," is the only original portrait by Mare which is more than waist length, the only one which shows both hands, the only one which includes any background (a chair and drapery). Perhaps the artist was not pleased with this experiment; perhaps the background took too long to paint. At any rate, he never tried this again.

²⁵ *Minutes of the Common Council*, VII, 20.

²⁶ *Life in America, A Special Loan Exhibition of Paintings Held During the Period of the New York World's Fair* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1939), 14. John Keteltas, born October 26, 1739, was a brother of Abraham Keteltas and a member of one of the oldest families in New York. He died February 28, 1768. See Smith, "John Mare," 368, 393. The portrait of John Keteltas is now owned by the New-York Historical Society by bequest of the late Edith M. K. Wetmore. Carolyn Scoon, assistant curator, Museum of New-York Historical Society, to the editor, May 3, 1966, letter in files of *North Carolina Historical Review*.

²⁷ William Sawitsky, lecture at the New-York Historical Society, January 27, 1942, hereinafter cited as Sawitsky lecture, January 27, 1942.

²⁸ Sawitsky lecture, January 27, 1942.

²⁹ Virgil Barker, *American Painting* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1950), 83.

The third painting is a copy of another Wollaston portrait, that of Henry Lloyd³⁰ of Lloyd's Neck, Long Island. It is signed and dated "Jn.° Mare fecit/1767."—not *pinxit*, the term an artist used to sign an original work, but *fecit*, the term an engraver used to sign his copy of an original. John Mare was as honest as his work. The Mare copy so perfectly reproduced Wollaston's typical mannerisms³¹ that the picture was believed to be a Wollaston original until minute examination revealed the signature. The circumstances in which both pictures were painted are known. On May 22, 1750, Henry Lloyd, Jr., wrote to his father:

... if it pleases God to give you so much health as to visit New York again pray let me begg it as a favour that you sett for your Picture and let it be at my Expence.³²

The "Expence" for the Wollaston portrait may have been somewhat greater than the son had anticipated, for he wrote his father again on June 17, 1751, to say, "I send 8 Bundles Hay more which hope will be sufficient to complete the charge of your picture [. I] have ordered Conkling to pay you the ballance."³³ By 1767 Henry Lloyd, Jr., and his brother, Dr. James Lloyd, were living in Boston, and a third brother Joseph Lloyd was living in their old home, where the Wollaston portrait still hung. Dr. James Lloyd secured Henry's permission to have a copy made of it for himself and wrote to Joseph, August 15, 1767:

I have got Mr. Mare to take a copy of my father's picture and brother [Henry] Lloyd has consented that he should take the picture to New York with him. I hope you will let him have it but see that it is carefully packed in a box fit for the purpose.³⁴

That letter may indicate that John Mare visited Boston in the summer of 1767. He may have gone there again in 1768, for a portrait be-

³⁰ Dorothy Barck (ed.), *Papers of the Lloyd Family of the Manor of Queens Village, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, New York, 1654-1826* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 2 volumes, 1927); the Rev. Melancthon Lloyd Woolsey, *The Lloyd Manor of Queens Village* (Baltimore: [The Order of Colonial Lords of Manors in America], 1925); also information from Mrs. J. Nelson Borland, who owned the portrait in 1951 and whose husband was a descendant of Dr. James Lloyd, the original owner. Henry Lloyd was born in Boston, November 28, 1685. In 1708 he married Rebecca, daughter of John Nelson, of Boston. In 1711 he moved to his manor of Queens Village, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, where he died March 18, 1763. See Smith, "John Mare," 394.

³¹ George C. Groce, "John Wollaston's Portrait of Thomas Appleford, Dated 1746," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXIV (October, 1950), 261; John Hill Morgan, *Early American Painters Illustrated by Examples in the Collection of the New-York Historical Society* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1921), 48-53.

³² NYHS Coll. 1926, 453.

³³ NYHS Coll. 1926, 484.

³⁴ Smith, "John Mare," 367.

lieved to be of John Torrey³⁵ of Boston is signed and dated: "Jn°. Mare/Pinx. 1768." It could equally well have been painted in New York for there would have been nothing unusual about a visit there by John Torrey and his brother William, who were merchants. A Torrey family history reproduces the photograph³⁶ of a strikingly similar portrait known to be that of William Torrey,³⁷ already in poor condition when it was photographed, and not yet located. The reproduction does not show any signature; the photograph appears to have been cropped to fit the page. If, on the other hand, it was not cropped (and therefore shows the whole portrait), and if this is a Mare portrait, as it seems to be, it is the only one in which the subject is shown in less than waist length except one later pastel.

During the 1760's John Mare undoubtedly painted other members of the prominent families of New York and the Hudson Valley. His known portraits are sufficient proof that he had contacts with many of them. One of John Keteltas' kinsmen was Gerard G. Beekman³⁸ of New York City, who later added the Beekman wing to Philipse Castle. His unsigned portrait, so closely resembling that of Keteltas (except for the fly) that it is attributed almost without question to Mare, was probably painted in 1769, the year of Beekman's marriage.³⁹ Another unsigned portrait, markedly like those of Keteltas and Beekman, is

³⁵ Frederic C. Torrey, *The Torrey Families and Their Children in America* (Lakehurst, N. J.: Privately printed, 1924), I, 141-145, hereinafter cited as Torrey, *The Torrey Families*; Frederick Holbrook Metcalf, a descendant who owned the portrait in 1951, to Helen Burr Smith, August 3, September 10, 1951. John Torrey was baptized in the First Church, Boston, October 18, 1734. A baker and merchant, he married first Susannah Bowditch, on January 12, 1758; their son William was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati. John Torrey then married Hannah Bean on October 1, 1766. He died in Boston, February 9, 1808. His identification as the subject of this portrait is based on family tradition and the marked likeness of the subject to that of a portrait known to be a painting of John Torrey's brother William. See Smith, "John Mare," 395.

³⁶ Torrey, *The Torrey Families*, I, 144.

³⁷ Torrey, *The Torrey Families*, I, 143; reproduction, I, 144. William Torrey, born June 7, 1729, was a brother of John Torrey and, like him, a merchant. On November 1, 1750, he married Abigail Nichols in Boston. The date of his death is unknown. The location and ownership of the portrait are not known. See Smith "John Mare," 395.

³⁸ William B. Aitken, *Distinguished Families in America Descended from Wilhelmus Beekman and Jan Thomasse Van Dyke* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), 21, hereinafter cited as Aitken, *Distinguished Families*; William F. Davidson, "Portraits and Landscapes at Philipse Castle," *American Collector*, XIII (May, 1944), 14; Hugh Grant Rowell, "Philipse Castle, 1683 to 1944," *American Collector*, XIII (May, 1944), 6. Gerard Beekman, born in 1746, was married in 1769 to Cornelia Van Cortlandt. During the Revolution they fled from New York to the Van Cortlandt mansion in Peekskill. On May 23, 1785, Beekman acquired the part of Philipse Manor which included the mill and the castle, where he died in 1822. Known from then until 1850 as the Widow Beekman, his remarkable wife was the dominant influence at Philipse Castle for the sixty-five years she lived there. The portrait now hangs at the Philipse Castle Restoration. See Smith, "John Mare," 369, 396.

³⁹ Aitken, *Distinguished Families*, 133.

that of an unidentified gentleman of the Werden-Wilcocks family,⁴⁰ friends of the Livingstons.

Three other portraits, two of them dated within the decade and signed with John Mare's name, should be mentioned. That of Governor Robert Monckton of New York, marked "Jn^o Mare/Pinx^t/1761," resembles the questionable portrait of Henry Livingston. That of Governor Sir Henry Moore, Monckton's successor, though marked "Jn Mare/Pinx^t/1766," is so different in style and size from his usual work that its authenticity was long in question. That of Dirck Brinckerhoff, a member of the Common Council which had bought Mare's portrait of King George III, was once tentatively attributed to Mare. After careful investigation, the two signatures are considered unconvincing and all three paintings by some hand other than Mare's.

Through most of the 1760's, John Mare had very little competition in New York City. Benjamin West had left for Italy by 1760.⁴¹ West's teacher, William Williams, after a year or two in the West Indies, settled in Philadelphia⁴² for about six years. Thomas McIlworth⁴³ moved to Albany in 1762. Mare's only rival seems to have been Lawrence Kilburn, who had come from London in 1754 and in 1765 com-

⁴⁰ NYHS Coll. 1905, 162-163; NYHS Coll. 1915, 504. The New York firm of Ginsburg & Levy, art dealers, acquired the portrait through an intermediary from a member of the Werden-Wilcocks family, along with a family coat of arms which, according to family tradition, had always accompanied the portrait. The portrait is now owned by Mr. Henry Flynt and is hung in Deerfield, Mass. See *Antiques*, LXX (September, 1956), 261.

⁴¹ James Thomas Flexner, *America's Old Masters* (New York: Viking Press, 1939), 40-41, hereinafter cited as Flexner, *America's Old Masters*.

⁴² For William Williams' history, see F. W. Bayley and C. E. Goodspeed (eds.), *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, by William Dunlap (New Edition, 3 volumes, 1918), I, 30, 32, 39, 44-46, hereinafter cited as Bayley and Goodspeed, *Arts of Design*; Oral S. Coad and Edwin Mims, Jr., *The American Stage*, Volume XIV of *Pageant of America: A Pictorial History of the United States*, edited by R. H. Gabriel and Others (New Haven: Yale University Press [Independence Edition, 15 volumes], 1925-1929), 24; William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York: G. P. Scott & Co., 1834), I, 32; Flexner, *America's Old Masters*, 30-32, 36; James Thomas Flexner, *First Flowers of Our Wilderness* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1947), 188; James Thomas Flexner, "The Amazing William Williams," *Magazine of Art*, XXXVII (November, 1944), 243-246, 276-278; John Galt, *The Life and Studies of Benjamin West* (Philadelphia: Algernon Graves, 1816), 39-40, 60-65; Algernon Graves, *Dictionary of Artists* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1884), 140, 182; Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928—), "Henry Dawkins," V, 150-151, and "Benjamin West," XX, 6-9; William Sawitsky, "Further Light on the Work of William Williams," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XXV (July, 1941), 101-112; John F. Williams, *William Joseph Williams, Portrait Painter and His Descendants* (Buffalo: Privately printed, 1933), *passim*, hereinafter cited as Williams, *William Joseph Williams*; G. C. Williamson (ed.), *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, by Michael Bryan (London: George Bell & Sons, Ltd., New Edition, Revised and Enlarged, 1939), 567.

⁴³ Susan Sawitsky, "Thomas McIlworth," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXV (April, 1951), 117-139.

placently advertised that "at present there is no other Portrait painter in the city but himself."⁴⁴ Then in 1767 John Durand and Abraham Delanoy arrived, in 1768 Cosmo Alexander (for a brief stay), in 1769 Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere (advertising as a "minature painter") and William Williams, in 1771 John Singleton Copley, and in 1772 Matthew Pratt.⁴⁵ There simply was not enough work to go around. Copley prospered, but the others had to supplement their earnings in other ways or look for commissions elsewhere. Kilburn, for example, ran a paint store and seems to have died in poverty. Delanoy, who had been West's pupil, had to waste his delicate craftsmanship on sign painting;⁴⁶ Williams returned to his native England; Simitiere and Pratt left the province; Mare decided to go back to Albany.

To raise funds for the venture, "John Mare of the City of New York Portrait-Painter" on December 4, 1771, mortgaged to Ennis Graham of New York, merchant, for £150, the lot he had inherited from his father⁴⁷ in what the latter had considered the suburbs or "Outward of this City nigh fresh water." Lot 38 was a very narrow lot, only twenty-seven feet wide, lying on the east side of Mulberry Street and running back eighty-seven feet toward the lots adjoining Mott Street.⁴⁸ The mortgage called for repayment of the loan with interest on or before May 1, 1772. The *Albany Gazette* carried his advertisement:

Albany, the 13th January, 1772.

Mr. Mare, Portrait Painter, purposing to reside part of this Winter in Town; has taken Lodgings at the House of Mr. John Prince, and will be much obliged to such Gentlemen and Ladies, as may choose to favour him with their Commands.⁴⁹

Among the gentlemen who did so choose—there is no evidence that Mare ever painted a portrait of a woman—was Sir John Johnson,⁵⁰ son of Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs for the area

⁴⁴ Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts*, 3-5.

⁴⁵ Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts*, 3-7; George C. Groce, "New York Painting Before 1800," *New York History*, (January, 1938), 54-57, hereinafter cited as Groce, "New York Painting"; William Kelby, *Notes on American Artists, 1754-1820* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1922), 1-9, hereinafter cited as Kelby, *American Artists*; William Sawitsky, *Matthew Pratt, 1734-1805* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1942), 6, 16.

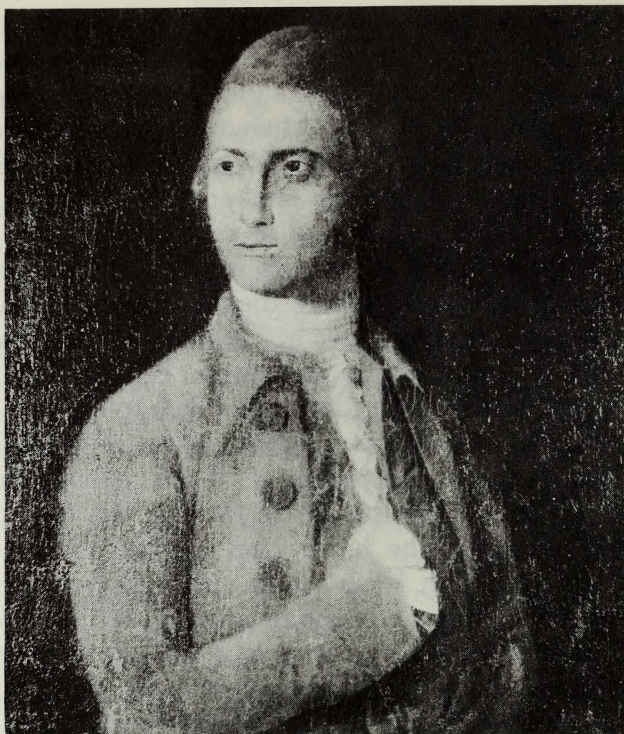
⁴⁶ Groce, "New York Painting," 51; Kelby, *American Artists*, 3, 8.

⁴⁷ Mortgages Liber 2, 503.

⁴⁸ The description comes from the 1761 mortgage by John Mare, Sr., to Andrew Marcellus, merchant. Mortgages Liber 1, 252.

⁴⁹ *Albany Gazette* (New York), January 27, 1772, transcription furnished by George C. Groce.

⁵⁰ William Bridgwater and Elizabeth J. Sherwood (eds.), *Columbia Encyclopedia* (New York: Columbia University Press [Second Edition], 1950), 1017-1018; Hamilton, "Portrait of Sir John Johnson," 441-451.



John Mare's portrait of Sir John Johnson, executed in 1772, is owned by the State of New York and is hung in Johnson Hall, Johnstown, New York. Photograph reproduced by courtesy of the Division of Archives and History, New York State Education Department, Albany, New York.

north of the Ohio River. Like his father, Sir John was a good soldier and had great influence among the Indians, especially those of the Mohawk Valley. During the Revolution he became one of the most active Tory leaders and was later rewarded with the post of superintendent of Indian affairs in Canada. His portrait,⁵¹ painted before his marriage, is signed with a curious monogram which Mare was to use again. The left vertical stroke of the letter *M*, with a dot above it, is curled to the left and upward from the bottom to form a *J*; the right half of the *M* is crossed by a horizontal stroke to form an *A*; and the right vertical stroke of the *M* is also the vertical stroke of an *R* and an *E*, with the top and bottom horizontal strokes of the *E* extended a little to the right of the curves of the *R*.⁵² This extraordinary signature

⁵¹ *NYHS Annual Report, 1953*, 82. The portrait is owned by the state of New York and is hung in Johnson Hall, Johnstown, New York.

⁵² Hamilton, "Portrait of Sir John Johnson," 449, note 1: "An accurate drawing of the monogram [from an identical one on a later portrait] is reproduced herewith (actual size) by courtesy of Mrs. Ingrid-Maerta Held, Painting Restorer of the [New-York Historical] Society."

is followed by the date 1772.

There are two indications that John Mare found Albany a profitable field for a painter; the mortgaged lot remained in his possession for many years, and he himself evidently felt that his residence there was "permanent" enough for him to join an Albany Masonic lodge (Master's Lodge No. 2, now No. 5).⁵³ The contact with Sir John Johnson may have been either a cause or a result of Mare's interest in Masonry, for Johnson was provincial grand master, having been passed and raised in Royal Lodge of St. James in London before his return to New York in 1767.⁵⁴ In the winter of 1772-1773 both Mare and Johnson were visiting brothers of Ineffable Lodge, Albany.⁵⁵ Exactly how long Mare remained in Albany is unknown, though it seems most

•
JARE, pin. †
1774

This copy of the monogram signature used by John Mare on his portraits of Sir John Johnson and Dr. Benjamin Young Prime was reproduced by Mrs. Ingrid-Maerta Held, painting restorer for the New-York Historical Society, New York City, and is used by courtesy of the society.

likely that he returned to New York within the next year and transferred his Masonic membership to St. John's Lodge No. 2.⁵⁶

At any rate, he was living in New York in 1774, for in that year he painted portraits of Dr. Benjamin Young Prime⁵⁷ and John Coven-

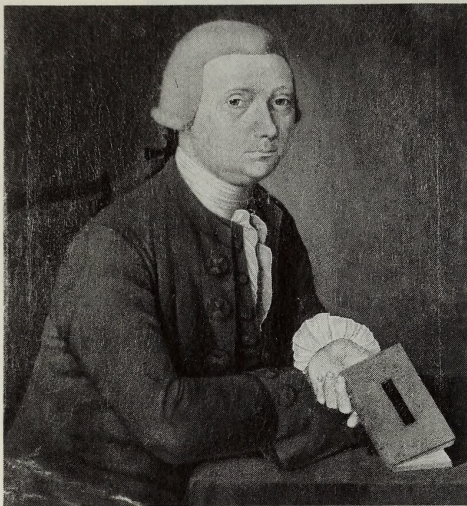
⁵³ Wendell K. Walker to Charles A. Harris, January 23, 1961, hereinafter cited as Walker to Harris, January 23, 1961. Copy of letter in possession of H. B. Smith.

⁵⁴ Hamilton, "Portrait of Sir John Johnson," 442.

⁵⁵ Milton W. Hamilton to Helen Burr Smith, November 9, 1962, letter in possession of H. B. Smith.

⁵⁶ Information from records of Unanimity Lodge, Edenton, supplied by William P. Goodwin, hereinafter cited as Records of Unanimity Lodge.

⁵⁷ Benjamin Young Prime, born December 20, 1733, died in 1791. His portrait was presented by a descendant to the New-York Historical Society in 1953. See *NYHS Annual Report*, 1953, 82.



An oil on canvas portrait of Dr. Benjamin Young Prime made by John Mare in 1774. Photograph reproduced by courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.



This portrait of John Covenhoven is the only pastel known to have been executed by John Mare. Photograph by Einars J. Mengis, reproduced by courtesy of Shelburne Museum, Inc., Shelburne, Vermont.

hoven,⁵⁸ both of New York. Since both were married that year, it is likely that these were wedding portraits like those of Gerard Beekman and Sir John Johnson. The Prime portrait is signed with the same remarkable monogram as Johnson's, followed by an unusual form of the usual formula "pint 1774."⁵⁹ The Covenhoven portrait, Mare's only known pastel and the only one of his signed paintings showing nothing more than the subject's head is signed and dated in the ordinary way: "John Mare/Pinx^t 1774."

⁵⁸ John Covenhoven is believed to have been the son of John and Catherine (Remsen) Covenhoven, born February 2, 1752. On October 6, 1774, he married Catharine, daughter of Peter and Elizabeth (Lefferts) Clopper. The notice of his death in Brooklyn, on February 1, 1805, referred to him as Major John Covenhoven. The identity of the subject of the portrait is attributed on the basis of all available records, published and unpublished, of the Covenhoven family, by exclusion of all other John Covenhovens. The portrait is still owned by the Shelburne Museum, Shelburne, Vermont. See New York County Will Books, Liber 31, 180; New York County Deed Books, Surrogate's Office, Liber 23, 232, Liber 44, 312, Liber 45, 469, and Liber 59, 272; "Dutch Church Marriages," 241; *Minutes of the Common Council*, I, 56, 157, 182, 204, and VI, 146, 223, 226; *New York Weekly Museum*, February 2, 1805 (obituary); *New York Genealogical and Biographical Society Record*, LXX, 274, and LXXXII, 221; Bradley Smith, assistant to the director, Shelburne Museum, Shelburne, Vermont, to Helen Burr Smith, August 24, 1960, and September 6, 1960, letters in possession of H. B. Smith.

⁵⁹ Hamilton, "Portrait of Sir John Johnson," 449. Mrs. Held's drawing of the monogram was made from the Prime portrait.

No later portraits by John Mare have been found. After 1777 he simply disappeared from New York records. Sometime between 1785 and 1795 he acquired Lot 39, adjoining his old lot on the north,⁶⁰ but the deed for that was not recorded. Neither was the deed by which, before the spring of 1795, he conveyed Lot 38 to William Williams,⁶¹ who for obvious reasons has always been assumed to be his nephew, Mary (Mare) Williams' son. It is difficult to understand why Mare should have purchased the property adjoining his own except with the intention of returning to New York City to live. And where was he living in the meantime? The mercantile firm of E. Dutith & Co. in Philadelphia had an account with a John Mare in 1786 and 1790,⁶² but its books gave no clue as to where he was or what he was doing. A search of legal records in Albany and New York, and even in Boston and Philadelphia failed to disclose any more information, not even the probate of a will or the issuing of letters of administration on his estate.⁶³

Additional information did emerge, however, about the William Williams who owned Lot 38 in 1795. It strengthened the probability that he was indeed Mary (Mare) Williams' son and John Mare's nephew, but did not quite prove the fact. This William Williams was also an artist, born in New York on November 17, 1759, according to the entry in his daughter's Bible, which did not give the names of his parents.⁶⁴ In 1779 the young man opened his studio in New York

⁶⁰ Obadiah Wells, who owned Lot 39 in the lifetime of John Mare, Sr., sold it to Frederick Jay, November 2, 1784. See Land Conveyances, Liber 51, in the Surrogate's Office, New York City. Two deeds of Peter Stuyvesant and wife Margaret, both dated March 27, 1795, refer to John Mare as "now or formerly" the owner of Lot 39. See Land Conveyances, Liber 51, 144, 146.

⁶¹ This transaction probably occurred before Williams' marriage in 1792 and his subsequent departure from the city. Letters of administration on the estate of Archibald Gatfield, granted January 15, 1791, show that his Lot 37 bounded John Mare's Lot 38 on the south (see *NYHS Coll.* 1905, 355). The Stuyvesant deed to James Howie describes Lot 38 as "now or lately belonging to William Williams." See Land Conveyances, Liber 51, 146.

⁶² Photostat in Helen Burr Smith's possession of the Dutith manuscript account, owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. See also William Henry Egle (ed.), *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series* (Harrisburg: State of Pennsylvania, 30 volumes and supplement, 1894), XI, 652, 687, XVI, 723, and XXII, 692; and Philadelphia City Directory, 1791.

⁶³ *NYHS Coll.* 1898-1908, indexes; George Loesch, clerk of the Surrogate's Court of the County of New York, to George C. Groce, December 10, 1948; John Ludden, clerk of the New York Court of Appeals, to George C. Groce, December 7, 1948; Donald L. Lynch, Albany County clerk, to George C. Groce, December 1, 1948; and research by Helen Burr Smith in the Surrogate's Court records, New York City, and in repositories of legal records in Philadelphia and Boston. Original letters in H. B. Smith's possession.

⁶⁴ Williams, *William Joseph Williams*, contains a transcript of this entire Bible record on unnumbered pages inserted between 34 and 37.

and inserted his advertisement in the *Royal Gazette* for March 6:

William Williams, Portrait Painter, Acquaints the Ladies and Gentlemen, that he has taken a room, at Mr. Greswold's, No. 163, Queen Street, next door to Mr. Joseph Totten's, where he carries on the business of Portrait Painting in all its branches, on the most reasonable terms.⁶⁵

One of the branches was teaching, for which his terms may have been more reasonable than his methods. William Dunlap, whom he took as a pupil in 1781 or 1782, reported that Williams was only his father's third choice as an instructor for him, an estimate unfortunately justified.

I went to his rooms in the suburbs, now Mott Street, and he placed a drawing book before me, such as I had possessed for years: after a few visits the teacher was not to be found. I examined his portraits—tried his crayons, and soon procuring a set . . . commenced portrait painter in the year 1782.⁶⁶

In 1792 William Williams was married in New York City⁶⁷ and left it for fifteen years. He worked in Virginia (1792-1793) and in Philadelphia (1793-1797), where he painted the portrait of George Washington in Masonic regalia requested by Alexandria-Washington Lodge No. 22, in Alexandria, Virginia.⁶⁸ Later he lived in South Carolina (1798-1804), where he was married for the second and third times, and in New Bern (1804-1807).⁶⁹ For the next ten years he was in New York,⁷⁰ but in 1817 he returned to New Bern, where he spent the last six years of his life.⁷¹ In 1821, two years before his death, he was converted to the Roman Catholic church and at confirmation took the name Joseph,⁷² which is usually inserted in parentheses between his Christian name and his surname. A number of his signed

⁶⁵ Kelby, *American Artists*, 15.

⁶⁶ Bayley and Goodspeed, *Arts of Design*, I, 295-296.

⁶⁷ On July 5, 1792, William Williams and Jane Smalwood were married by the Reverend John H. Livingston at the Dutch Reformed Church, 113 Fulton Street, New York City. "Dutch Church Marriages," I, 267.

⁶⁸ Philadelphia City Directory, 1797, 196, which lists him as "Limner"; Gertrude S. Carraway, *Crown of Life: History of Christ Church, New Bern, N. C., 1715-1940* (New Bern: Owen G. Dunn, 1940), 105-106, hereinafter cited as Carraway, *Crown of Life*; Williams, *William Joseph Williams*, *passim*.

⁶⁹ Williams, *William Joseph Williams*, *passim*.

⁷⁰ Longworth's *New York Almanac*, 1809, 384, which lists him as "portrait painter"; baptismal records of Trinity Church, New York City; and Williams, *William Joseph Williams*, *passim*.

⁷¹ Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 105-106, 156; Williams, *William Joseph Williams*, 156.

⁷² Williams, *William Joseph Williams*, 24. This quotes the records of St. Paul's Roman Catholic Church, New Bern.

portraits have survived,⁷³ as have several miniatures attributed to him. It is tantalizing to consider that the deed for the conveyance of Lot 38 from Mare to Williams might have revealed not only the relationship between the two men but also Mare's whereabouts at that unknown date between 1785 and 1795.

John Mare's total work, known or attributed with some certainty, consists of twelve paintings: the portraits of Robert Gilbert Livingston and Henry Lloyd, copied from Wollaston originals not yet located; the vanished portrait of King George III; the portraits of William Torrey, Gerard Beekman, and the gentleman of the Werden-Wilcocks family, all attributed to him on grounds of style and provenance; and the portraits of John Keteltas, John Torrey, Sir John Johnson, John Covenhoven, Dr. Benjamin Young Prime, and the unknown young man, all signed and dated, all unquestionably authentic. Each one of these subjects without exception was posed three-quarters front. Six of them (eight, counting the copies) had a hand thrust into the waistcoat. Details such as buttons, braid, ruffles, decorations, and the famous fly on John Keteltas' cuff, were painted with meticulous care. Mare's likenesses have been described as "stiff" and "hard,"⁷⁴ with the faces painted in high color against a dark background. One critic who considered Mare a better painter than some of his contemporaries—modest praise, to say the least—said that "at the same time there is a certain clumsiness in all his work, a certain amateurishness. Yet the faces are fairly well painted."⁷⁵ They are indeed. No matter how dependent he was on a set formula for composition, he painted faces with individuality. It is honest work, straightforward, "sturdy and careful,"⁷⁶ unstained by flattery. These are portraits of real persons and irrefutable proof of his professional success. Yet John Mare apparently stopped painting at the age of thirty-five and dropped completely out of his surroundings and the normal development of his life.

⁷³ *The North Carolina Portrait Index, 1700-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 179, 262, 263, shows examples of his work and lists other portraits attributed to him and owned within the state.

⁷⁴ Sawitsky lecture, January 27, 1942.

⁷⁵ Sawitsky lecture, January 27, 1942.

⁷⁶ Oliver W. Larkin, *Art and Life in America* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1949), 49-50, 61.

II

There were more than a hundred names on Dr. Samuel Dickinson's list of men in Chowan County who had taken the oath of allegiance to the new state of North Carolina by June 23, 1778. Among those he certified were Hugh Williamson, later a signer of the Constitution; James Iredell, later an associate justice of the new Supreme Court of the United States; the members of the Committee of Safety and most of the other local patriots whose names are yet remembered; and one who has been forgotten, John Mare,⁷⁷ a newcomer to the town of Edenton but already a friend of the most influential men of the community. The political career which lay ahead of him was based on such associations and on his loyalty to the cause of the Revolution and the young nation.

That loyalty was tested more than once. When the British row galley "General Arnold" slipped into Albemarle Sound and "plundered and burnt" along the sound and the Chowan River early in June, 1781,⁷⁸ the citizens of Edenton pledged £75,500 toward the expenses of an expedition to destroy it. Well-to-do businessmen and farmers like William Boyd and William Bennett and a well-to-do physician like Dr. Dickinson were in a better position to pledge £1,500, as they did, than John Mare to pledge £1,000.⁷⁹ Mare also supplied to the North Carolina troops in the Continental Line almost a hundred yards of linen valued at £30 9s. 2d., thread valued at £14 11s., 4d., and "1 Chest to pack goods in," valued at £1 6s. 0d.⁸⁰ This transaction was supposed to be a sale, the bill to be paid by the state; but it might as well have been an outright contribution, considering the fact that the state took more than five years to think about settling the debt. These were fairly generous contributions from a man who had already suffered a severe financial loss as a direct result of the war—in October, 1780, the "Fair American" owned by William Littlejohn, William Bennett,

⁷⁷ J. R. B. Hathaway (ed.), *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, II (April, 1901), 206, hereinafter cited as Hathaway, *Historical and Genealogical Register*.

⁷⁸ Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XVII, 952-953, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*.

⁷⁹ "List of Subscribers on the Expedition against the Row Galley Gen.^l Arnold," loose paper in the Cupola House Collection, Edenton, hereinafter cited as Cupola House Collection. No record has been found that Mare was ever in the Continental army or navy.

⁸⁰ Clark, *State Records*, XVI, 485.

Thomas Walker, John Mare, and George and William Wynn, had been captured by the British.⁸¹

Chowan County tax lists⁸² disclose the details of John Mare's early business career, showing his financial status on April 1 of each year. In 1779 his property, consisting of cash, notes, and one horse, was valued at £206 5s. 0d.; the fact that notes were included suggests that he might have gone into business by himself. A year later he was a partner in the firm of Mare & Cooley, with cash assets of £3,000, a one-sixteenth interest in the schooner "Ostrich," which was valued at £5,600, and dry goods on hand to the value of £800. A surprising amount of the stock in trade, besides what belonged to the firm, was Mare's personal property, to the value of £525. In addition, he had cash assets of £1,700, "debts due" amounting to £2,500, and "1 2 Year old Filly" valued at £140.⁸³ By the spring of 1781 he may have withdrawn from the partnership, known by then as Samuel Cooley & Co., which had cash assets valued at £6,653 and other assets valued at £2,394, while Mare himself had cash assets of £7,000 and other assets valued at £3,452. In 1782 his stock in trade was listed at £656 6s. 4d. and in 1783 at £210. The tax lists thereafter do not show any details of business firms, but do show when Mare began to employ a clerk who was part of his household. In 1784 his autograph listing shows "1 poll tax (M.^r Jer.^h Gallop)"; in 1789 another autograph listing shows "1 pole Jeremiah Gallop." In 1786 he listed one free poll, in 1787 two, in 1788 one. In 1790 Jeremiah Gallop became a taxable himself, and Mare took his first and only apprentice, Ichabod Sampson, an eighteen-year-old free mulatto, who was bound to him to learn the "art & Mistery of a Seaman."⁸⁴ This boy, the "other free person" listed in Mare's household in the 1790 census,⁸⁵ appeared on

⁸¹ According to papers taken from the "Fair American," she was owned by George and William Wynn of Hertford County, and by William Bennett, William Littlejohn, Thomas Walker, and John Mare of Edenton. She was reported en route from Edenton to Bordeaux with a cargo of 160 hogsheads of tobacco, deerskins, snakeroot, and other items. Her letter of marque described her as an 18-gun ship with a crew of 100 men. Prize Papers, Admiralty 32/330/1, British Public Record Office. This information was supplied to the authors by Thomas C. Parramore.

⁸² Chowan County Tax Lists, State Archives, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Chowan Tax Lists. Between 1778 and 1809, the lists for 1792, 1796, 1799, and 1801 are missing.

⁸³ The tax list for 1780 makes it clear that Mare had acquired his interest in the "Fair American" between April 1, 1780, and the date of its loss.

⁸⁴ Minutes of the Chowan County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, March, 1788-September, 1791, State Archives, hereinafter cited as Chowan Court Minutes. Except in the earlier volumes, these minutes have no page numbers, and it is therefore necessary to refer to the term of court, in this case March Term, 1790. In some of the earlier volumes, the leaves rather than the pages are numbered; for the sake of convenience, the letters A and B will indicate the right-hand and left-hand pages respectively.

⁸⁵ Clark, *State Records*, XXVI, 397.

the tax lists in 1793 and 1794. After that his apprenticeship ended. The only definite information about Mare's business came from the records of the Port of Roanoke,⁸⁶ which show the duty he paid on imports brought in, always by the sloop "Mary," nearly all of it from the West Indies—\$78.02 in 1790, \$478.79 in 1791, \$260.81 in 1792, and \$170.15 in 1793.⁸⁷ His store, which he did not own, was the "corner store in King Street,"⁸⁸ at the north end of the row of stores called Cheapside, directly south of Joseph Hewes' old store.

It took the young state of North Carolina several years to decide exactly how property should be listed for taxes. In 1782 and 1783, for instance, slaves were listed by age: those under seven and over fifty at the lowest valuation, those from seven to sixteen and from forty to fifty in a middle group, and those from sixteen to forty at the highest valuation. From 1784 on, they were listed only if their ages were between twelve and fifty. In 1782 John Mare listed one slave in the second group and one in the third; in 1783, one in each of the first two groups and four in the third. In 1784 he listed four, in 1785 eight; in 1786 nine; in 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, and 1791 eight. Twenty-two were listed in the 1790 census; of those, fourteen were under twelve or over fifty.⁸⁹

On October 21, 1782, John Mare made his first purchase of real estate in Edenton when he paid Dominick Pembrune 750 Spanish milled dollars for a house on West Church Street (New Plan Lot 55).⁹⁰ This was next door to his friend William Littlejohn, whose lot adjoined St. Paul's churchyard on the other side. In 1787 Mare paid £250 specie for two lots on East Gale Street (Old Plan Lots 119-120), one "improved" by a log cabin measuring twenty by fifteen feet and the other unimproved. These lots, the escheated property of Thomas Wright,⁹¹ Mare listed for taxes in the summer of 1787 as being his property by April 1, but he did not succeed in getting his deed from Governor Richard Caswell until November 12. Two months before that, he had bought the lot just west of his home (New Plan Lot 56)

⁸⁶ Records of the Port of Edenton, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1790-1795, 5, 19, 47, 65, 76, 91, 106, 126, 141, 152.

⁸⁷ Custom duty was imposed in pounds, shillings, and pence and paid in dollars. For a discussion of the currency situation in the state during this period, see Mattie Erma Parker, *Money Problems of Early Tar Heels* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, fifth printing, 1960), 10-13.

⁸⁸ *State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), January 31, 1794.

⁸⁹ Chowan Tax Lists, 1782 through 1791.

⁹⁰ Chowan County Deed Books, Office of Register of Deeds, Chowan County Courthouse, Edenton, Deed Book R-2, 358, hereinafter cited as Chowan Deed Book.

⁹¹ Chowan Deed Book T-1, 207, 208.

for £390;⁹² apparently this was an investment in property for rental purposes only,⁹³ though the house must have been a good deal handsomer than his own.⁹⁴ On January 18, 1789, he made his final purchase, for £600 North Carolina currency, of a lot directly across Broad Street from Mrs. Thomas Barker's home (the middle third, approximately, of New Plan Lots 25-26-27-28).⁹⁵ This, too, must have been an investment in rental property, for he continued to occupy the house on Church Street.⁹⁶

By the spring of 1784 he had begun to acquire land in other counties. He bought first 425 acres in Tyrrell County,⁹⁷ then 200 acres in "Bartie" County,⁹⁸ 200 acres,⁹⁹ 575 acres,¹⁰⁰ and finally 75 acres,¹⁰¹ all in Tyrrell, so that by the spring of 1788 he owned 1,475 acres.

John Mare was in his mid-forties and Mrs. Marion (Boyd) Wells in her early thirties when they were married in 1784. Their marriage bond has not been found, but the date can be approximated with accuracy. Marion Boyd was a daughter of William Boyd and his first wife, Mary Speight,¹⁰² and a granddaughter of the Reverend John Boyd,¹⁰³ a Scottish physician who had been North Carolina's first candidate for Holy Orders and rector of North-West Parish, Bertie County, from 1732 to 1738.¹⁰⁴ Marion was still a minor when her father gave his consent to her marriage to Dr. George Wells, February 3, 1767.¹⁰⁵ Nothing is known of Dr. Wells except from his will and the will of his father-in-law; his name appeared only once in court re-

⁹² Chowan Deed Book T-1, 151.

⁹³ Chowan Deed Books B-2, 25, and W-1, 512.

⁹⁴ When the two lots were sold at the same time in 1801, the Mare lot brought less than a fifth as much as the adjoining lot. Chowan Deed Book R-2, 525. Another indication that the Mares were satisfied with a rather simple way of life is the fact that they never had a carriage; the only vehicle shown in the Chowan tax lists, from 1785 through 1791, is a "Singal Riding Chair," technically two wheels.

⁹⁵ Chowan Deed Book T-1, 308.

⁹⁶ Chowan Deed Book B-2, 25.

⁹⁷ Chowan Tax List, 1784.

⁹⁸ Chowan Tax List, 1785.

⁹⁹ Chowan Tax List, 1786.

¹⁰⁰ Chowan Tax List, 1787.

¹⁰¹ Chowan Tax List, 1788.

¹⁰² Hathaway, *Historical and Genealogical Register*, II (April, 1901), 271; Chowan Court Minutes, 1755-1761, 531B.

¹⁰³ Hathaway, *Historical and Genealogical Register*, I (January, 1901), 29; Chowan Court Minutes, 1730-1734 and 1740-1748 [all in one volume], 123A, 131B; Chowan Deed Book O-1, 101.

¹⁰⁴ Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., "The Church in the Province of North Carolina," *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina*, edited by J. B. Cheshire, Jr. (Wilmington: W. L. DeRosset, Jr., 1892), 67, hereinafter cited as Cheshire, "The Church in North Carolina"; William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), III, 339, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

¹⁰⁵ Chowan County Marriage Bonds, State Archives, typed by the Genealogical Society of Utah, Salt Lake City, 1943, 169, hereinafter cited as Chowan Marriage Bonds.

cords before his will was proved,¹⁰⁶ and he owned no property in Chowan County. His will, written three months after his marriage, left his wife everything except his "silver smitted sword" and his tomahawk, which were to go to his brother Richard, and his "medicinal" books or "whatever Books thats belonging to me that treats of Surgery or medicine," which were to go to his younger halfbrother Thomas.¹⁰⁷ It was an unfortunate marriage. Whether because of military service, financial profit elsewhere, restlessness, or incompatibility, Dr. Wells was evidently away most of the time.¹⁰⁸ As for his wife, the only detail known of her personal history is that she and her sister Lydia (Mrs. William Bennett) signed the resolutions of the Edenton Tea Party. Marion's father made careful provision for her in his will, stipulating that payments to her should not be "Subject to the Interference, Intermeddling order or Control" of her husband,¹⁰⁹ providing a special fund of £ 10 proclamation per year for her "during the absence of her husband Geo Wells and While they have no Connection,"¹¹⁰ and appointing four trustees of unimpeachable integrity to look after her share of his estate: the future governor of North Carolina, Samuel Johnston; the future justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, James Iredell; the rector of St. Paul's Church, the Reverend Daniel Earl; and his own son-in-law and business partner, William Bennett.¹¹¹ There is no suggestion that Marion was incapable of managing her estate; on the contrary, it was to be paid to her at once if she outlived her husband.¹¹² If he outlived her, it was to go to her sister Lydia's children.¹¹³ No matter what happened, Dr. Wells was not to get his fingers on one penny of her property. By the time William Boyd died in the fall of 1784,¹¹⁴ Dr. Wells was dead and Marion safely married to John Mare. She must have been married very soon after George Wells' death, or soon after the news of it

¹⁰⁶ An eleven-year-old girl was bound to him on March 20, 1770; on September 18, 1770, she was bound to someone else. No explanation is given for the sudden termination of a bond which would normally have lasted until the girl was eighteen years old. See Chowan Court Minutes, April, 1766-March, 1772, 513, 567.

¹⁰⁷ Chowan County Will Books, Office of Clerk of Court, Chowan County Courthouse, Edenton, Will Book A, 172, hereinafter cited as Chowan Will Books.

¹⁰⁸ Chowan Will Book B, 122. William Boyd's first will, dated February 18, 1775, indicates a separation.

¹⁰⁹ Chowan Will Book B, 139.

¹¹⁰ Chowan Will Book B, 122.

¹¹¹ Chowan Will Book B, 122, 139.

¹¹² Chowan Will Book B, 122, 139.

¹¹³ Chowan Will Book B, 122, 139.

¹¹⁴ Chowan Court Minutes, 1780-1785, December Term, 1784. William Bennett qualified as administrator of William Boyd's estate, December 29, 1784, before Boyd's wills had been found. He proceeded to settle the estate quite promptly but had to qualify as executor anyway April 3, 1785, after the wills were found.

arrived. According to law, wills were supposed to be proved within six months of a death, and Dr. Wells' was proved at September Term of court, 1784;¹¹⁵ this should indicate that he was living as late as March of that year. But since William Boyd was named as administrator, to lighten Marion's responsibility as executrix, and since Boyd's own wills (he left two) did not turn up for some months after his death, it is possible that Dr. Wells' was also delayed in being proved. At any rate, Marion evidently married John Mare in the spring or early summer of 1784. Their first child, Mary A. Mare, was born in February, 1785,¹¹⁶ and their second, Elizabeth Anne, before 1790.¹¹⁷

The sort of family John Mare married into is another indication of his standing in the community. William Boyd, orphaned in childhood, had grown up in the home of his stepfather Joseph Herron,¹¹⁸ sea captain turned sheriff.¹¹⁹ He was appointed a justice of the peace as early as 1760¹²⁰ and served several times on the grand jury for the infrequent sessions of the superior court.¹²¹ He represented Chowan County in the General Assembly repeatedly, from the fall of 1762¹²² through the fall of 1779.¹²³ He was one of the few who had the courage to protest against the Confiscation Act as injurious to many innocent people.¹²⁴ He was executor of many wills, administrator of many estates, guardian of several children.¹²⁵ As the son of a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,¹²⁶ he was greatly concerned about the parish in which he lived. He was first elected to the vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, in 1752,¹²⁷ for the usual two-year term, and was reelected in 1772 for a term prolonged indefinitely. He became a warden in 1774 and was still

¹¹⁵ Chowan Court Minutes, 1780-1785, September Term, 1784.

¹¹⁶ She was "51 years 9 mos" old when she died in November, 1836, according to her tombstone in St. Paul's churchyard, Edenton.

¹¹⁷ The 1790 census shows three free white females in John Mare's household. Clark, *State Records*, XXVI, 397.

¹¹⁸ Chowan Marriage Bonds, 72; Chowan Court Minutes, 1730-1734 and 1740-1748 [one volume] 123A, 131B; Chowan Court Minutes, 1749-1755, 279A.

¹¹⁹ Chowan Court Minutes, 1730-1734 and 1740-1748, 157A; Chowan Court Minutes, 1749-1755, 253B, 307B; Chowan Deed Book E-1, 277; Chowan Will Book A, 50.

¹²⁰ Chowan Court Minutes, 1755-1761, 510A.

¹²¹ For example, Chowan Court Minutes, 1755-1761, 542A; Chowan Court Minutes, April, 1766-March, 1772, 328.

¹²² Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 856, 893, 899, 923, 935.

¹²³ Clark, *State Records*, XIII, 740, 784, 786, 790-791, 812, 823, 831, 845, 913, 916, 925, 935, 966, 975, 979-980, 982-983, 988, 990, 1000.

¹²⁴ Clark, *State Records*, XIII, 991-992.

¹²⁵ For example, Chowan Court Minutes, 1755-1761, 406B; Chowan Court Minutes, April, 1766-March, 1772, 374, 496, 524; Chowan Will Books A, 172, and B, 126.

¹²⁶ Cheshire, "The Church in North Carolina," 67.

¹²⁷ Vestry Minutes, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Edenton, hereinafter cited as Vestry Minutes. Boyd served first from August 24, 1752, to April 15, 1754, and from April 1, 1772, until the minutes ended in 1779. He served as warden from May 18, 1774, to May 2, 1778, when the vestry became the Overseers of the Poor.

serving in this office in 1778, when the vestry was suddenly transformed into the Overseers of the Poor and the minutes stopped. The other warden was his son-in-law William Bennett, elected to the vestry in the spring of 1776¹²⁸ and appointed warden about two months later. These two and Boyd's nephew, Thomas Benbury, were three of the vestrymen who signed the Test, demanding justice for the colonies *because* they were loyal subjects of the King.¹²⁹

John Mare shared this interest in the Anglican church. When the Reverend Charles Pettigrew was called to be rector of St. Paul's, on November 1, 1781, Mare's name was thirteenth on a long list of subscribers, with a pledge of £5 per year toward the rector's salary.¹³⁰ It is impossible to discover how active a part John Mare may have taken in parish affairs because there are no vestry minutes for the years that he lived in Edenton. The loose papers relating to the repair of the church after his death contain several subscription lists which bear the names of his family connections.¹³¹ It is therefore a safe guess that his family was among the small group who maintained its loyalty through very trying times in the history of the parish and, indeed, of the Episcopal church. Since he owned land only in the town, and St. Paul's churchyard was then the town cemetery, John Mare and his wife were probably buried there, as his daughters were later.

Like many other members of St. Paul's, Mare was an active Mason. A visitor to Unanimity Lodge in Edenton on April 14, 1776, and January 27 and 28, 1777,¹³² he was admitted to membership on April 16, 1778,¹³³ and served in swift succession as junior warden pro tem on August 13, treasurer pro tem on September 1, and senior

¹²⁸ Vestry Minutes. Bennett served on the vestry from April 8, 1776, until the minutes ended, and as warden from June 19, 1776, to May 2, 1778.

¹²⁹ The Test was a statement signed by nine of the vestrymen and two former vestrymen of St. Paul's Church, professing at once their allegiance to the King and to the Continental and Provincial Congresses. Vestry Minutes, June 19, 1776.

¹³⁰ Loose paper now bound into the restored Vestry Minutes.

¹³¹ Loose papers in possession of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Edenton, hereinafter cited as 1806-1809 Repairs, St. Paul's Church.

¹³² Records of Unanimity Lodge; William P. Goodwin to Charles A. Harris, February 1, 1961, copy in possession of H. B. Smith, hereinafter cited as Goodwin to Harris, February 1, 1961. Goodwin has found the oldest records in great disorder, with old record books fallen apart and some minutes on loose sheets apparently never copied into the record books at all. As he succeeds in restoring order to the jumbled papers, more information about John Mare may come to light.

¹³³ Records of Unanimity Lodge; Goodwin to Harris, February 1, 1961; Edward W. Spiers, "Colonial History of Unanimity Lodge No. 7 A. F. & A. M.," address delivered on the one hundred fifty-fifth anniversary of its organization, November 8, 1930, unnumbered 5, mimeographed copy in possession of E. V. Moore, hereinafter cited as Spiers, "Colonial History of Unanimity Lodge."

warden pro tem on September 4. Next year he became treasurer on January 26; he served as senior warden pro tem on March 25, and as junior warden pro tem on August 17; and he was elected senior warden on December 20 and master on December 27, presiding over seventeen communications of the lodge. From then until December 27, 1782, he served as master.¹³⁴ The weight of his influence may be estimated from the fact that Unanimity Lodge failed when he declined to continue serving as master¹³⁵ and that it was he who revived it in 1787, when on April 2 he was again installed as master. He presided over all the meetings from September 4, 1787, to June 5, 1788,¹³⁶ and presumably continued active most of the time until the lodge "became dormant in November, 1799,"¹³⁷ its last meeting occurring only five months after Mare's last public appearance.

In June, 1787, John Mare notified members of Unanimity Lodge that he would be unable, for personal reasons, to represent them at a proposed convention to elect a grand master for the state.¹³⁸ The convention had to be delayed six months,¹³⁹ and he was one of the two Edenton delegates (Stephen Cabarrus was the other) when it finally met in Tarboro in December. He presided over the convention, held for the purpose of reviving the lodge,¹⁴⁰ "is credited with having drafted the Constitution of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina"¹⁴¹ and on December 12 delivered an impressive charge to its new officers.¹⁴² His final exhortation reflects the satisfaction he felt:

As we have gone through the important business for which we met together, allow me in the gladness of my heart to express the gratitude I owe you in having the honour to sit in this exalted chair; and as I am about to leave it to express the happiness I feel at this time in seeing the great work for which we convened finished; I hope the result of it will give stability to the Society, which will reflect honour and dignity upon the craft.

¹³⁴ Records of Unanimity Lodge; Goodwin to Harris, February 1, 1961.

¹³⁵ Records of Unanimity Lodge; Goodwin to Harris, February 1, 1961.

¹³⁶ Records of Unanimity Lodge.

¹³⁷ Marshall DeLancey Haywood, *The Beginnings of Freemasonry in North Carolina and Tennessee* (Raleigh: Weaver & Lynch, 1906), 11, hereinafter cited as Haywood, *Freemasonry*.

¹³⁸ Records of Unanimity Lodge.

¹³⁹ Haywood, *Freemasonry*, 19.

¹⁴⁰ Haywood, *Freemasonry*, 19; Spires, "Colonial History of Unanimity Lodge," unnumbered 5-6; R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (Chicago: American Historical Society, Inc., 4 volumes, 1929), I, 373, refers to "the most important social institution in the state, the Grand Lodge of the Masonic Order [which] had been extinct since 1776."

¹⁴¹ Spires, "Colonial History of Unanimity Lodge," unnumbered 6.

¹⁴² Haywood, *Freemasonry*, 20.

We may flatter ourselves, as we have laid the foundation and placed such exalted characters at our head, that Free Masonry will flourish throughout this State. I hope it will not be taken amiss if I charge you on this occasion, that you will observe a strict attention to the rules and Constitution of Masonry in your respective Lodges, that will cement us all in one band of Brotherly Love.

I am now taking leave of you, permit me to implore the world's Great Architect, who is our Supreme Grand Master, to help you with all those gifts of understanding, and all those calm dispositions of heart, which will make you Ornaments to your friends and happy in yourselves.¹⁴³

A resolution was promptly passed, thanking him as president "for the able and assiduous manner with which he hath discharged the duties of that office."¹⁴⁴ He was soon to serve, though perhaps briefly, as an officer of the grand lodge; the minutes of June 24, 1788, list him as junior grand warden.¹⁴⁵ He was fourth on the list of its members on December 16, 1797,¹⁴⁶ and was still a member the two following years.¹⁴⁷

It was not merely John Mare's enthusiasm for Masonry which led to his presiding at the reorganization of the grand lodge. The ability and assiduity commended in the resolution of thanks had been observed for years by men who were in a position to recognize and value such qualities. Perhaps the most interesting facet of Mare's life was his political career. From April, 1783, to July, 1786, he was postmaster of Edenton.¹⁴⁸ In March, 1785, he was appointed for the first time to the grand jury.¹⁴⁹ From June 8, 1786, to March 26, 1788, he was coroner for Chowan County.¹⁵⁰ By the end of 1787 he was a justice of the peace,¹⁵¹ a very conscientious one, presiding during

¹⁴³ "Early Minutes of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina," *Nocalore, Being the Transactions of the North Carolina Lodge of Research No. 666, A. F. & A. M.* (Monroe [?], 11 volumes, 1931-1941), VII, 147, hereinafter cited as "Early Minutes of the Grand Lodge."

¹⁴⁴ "Early Minutes of the Grand Lodge," VII, 147.

¹⁴⁵ Charles A. Harris to Wendell K. Walker, February 8, 1961, copy in possession of H. B. Smith, hereinafter cited as Harris to Walker, February 8, 1961. It was Harris' opinion that Mare was probably substituting for the elected junior grand warden for this one meeting.

¹⁴⁶ Walker to Harris, January 23, 1961.

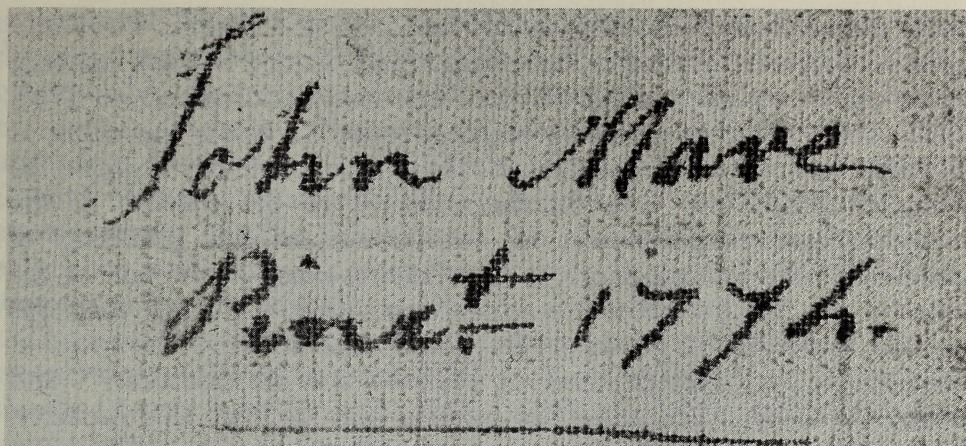
¹⁴⁷ Walker to Harris, January 23, 1961.

¹⁴⁸ John Mare's summary report as postmaster, April 5, 1783, to July 26, 1786, National Archives, Washington, D.C., photostat copy in possession of E. V. Moore. This service has been confirmed by F. Kent Loomis, Captain, U.S.N. (Ret.), assistant director of naval history, Department of the Navy, Washington, D.C., April 1, 1966, letter in possession of E. V. Moore.

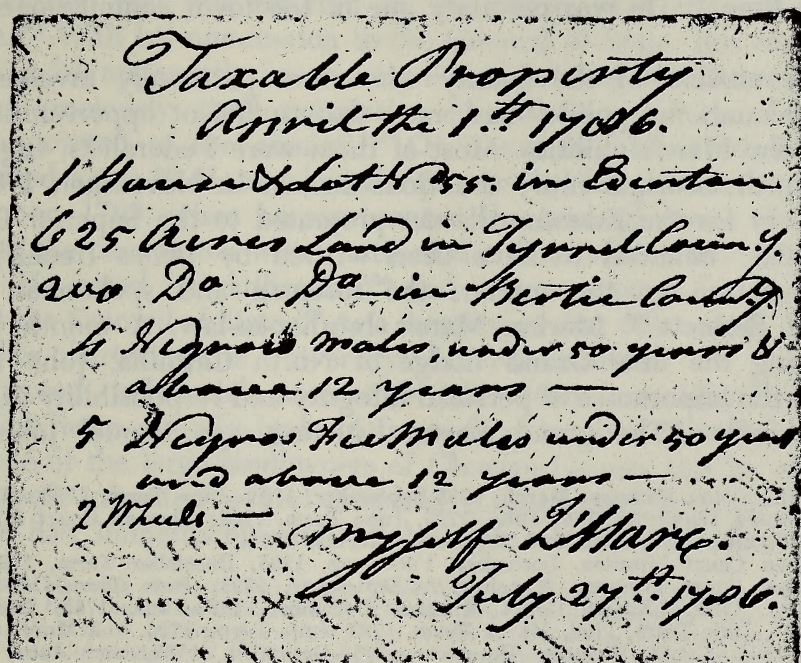
¹⁴⁹ Chowan Court Minutes, 1780-1785.

¹⁵⁰ Chowan Court Minutes, September, 1785-September, 1786; Chowan Court Minutes, March, 1788-September, 1791.

¹⁵¹ Chowan Court Minutes, December, 1786-December, 1787, and June, 1795-March 1796 [one volume]. The minutes for this period were badly kept, those for June, 1795, for instance, appearing in the volume just cited and in the volumes covering December, 1791, through June 10, 1795, and also June 10, 1795, through June, 1798.



John Mare
April 1786.



Taxable Property
April the 1st 1786.
1 House & Lot H & S. in Eenton
625 Acres Land in Tyrone County
200 Do. Do. in Bertie County
15 Negroes males, under 50 years &
above 12 years —
5 Negroes Free Males under 50 years
and above 12 years —
2 Whels — myself J. Mare.
July 27th 1786.

At the top is a photograph made by Einars J. Mengis of John Mare's signature as it appears on the reverse side of the portrait of John Covenhoven, owned by the Shelburne Museum, Inc. Below is a copy of the listing of taxable property as of "April the 1st . 1786." filed by "myself J. Mare. July 27th . 1786." in Chowan County. This copy was made by the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, State Department of Archives and History, where the original is on file. These samples were submitted to James R. Durham, document examiner, State Bureau of Investigation, for an opinion as to whether the handwriting appeared to be that of the same man. Although seriously handicapped in making an analysis because of the brief amount of writing available for comparison, Mr. Durham stated that "these signatures reflected a general consistency within the normal range of expected handwriting variations . . ." and that "it is likely that both signatures were written by the same person. . . ." Letter October 28, 1966, on file in the office of the editor, *North Carolina Historical Review*.

three out of every four sessions of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions for twelve busy years. As a justice he took his turn at listing the taxables of his district (the town of Edenton), in 1788, 1792, and 1796.¹⁵² In 1793 he was appointed to assess the value of Edenton property for taxation.¹⁵³ He was repeatedly assigned to financial committees to audit the accounts of the sheriffs, of the executors and administrators of estates, and of the guardians of children.¹⁵⁴ His last signature as an official appears at the end of the minutes for the December term of court, 1798,¹⁵⁵ though that was not the last time he presided. He found time to serve the town of Edenton as well. By the end of 1786 he was its treasurer,¹⁵⁶ and records of 1790, 1791, and 1792 refer to him again in this capacity, without, however, making it clear whether he had continued in office all that time.¹⁵⁷ He was certainly one of the town commissioners in 1789.¹⁵⁸

Those citizens of the county who were personally involved in state and national politics had more than sufficient opportunities to judge John Mare's abilities. Most of them were Federalists, eager to have North Carolina ratify the Constitution. In November, 1787, a grand jury for the Edenton district presented to the Superior Court an appeal (believed to have been written by James Iredell) for prompt action on the matter; the foreman and spokesman was William Bennett,¹⁵⁹ Marion Mare's brother-in-law. A month later, addressing the new Grand Lodge of North Carolina, John Mare stressed the importance of personal integrity and responsibility in high political office. The grand master listening was Samuel Johnston,

¹⁵² Chowan Court Minutes, March, 1788-September, 1791, June Term, 1788; Chowan Court Minutes, December, 1791-June, 1795, June Term, 1792; Chowan Court Minutes, June, 1795-June, 1798, June and September Terms, 1796.

¹⁵³ Chowan Court Minutes, December, 1791-June, 1795, December Term, 1793.

¹⁵⁴ Chowan Court Minutes, March, 1788-September, 1791, June Term, 1790, and June Term, 1791; Chowan Court Minutes, December, 1791-June, 1795, December Term, 1791, June Term, 1792, March Term, 1793, June Term, 1794, and March Term, 1795; Chowan Court Minutes, December, 1786-December, 1787, and June, 1795-March, 1796, September Term, 1795.

¹⁵⁵ Chowan Court Minutes, September, 1798-December, 1801.

¹⁵⁶ John Mare's account of what he had spent as treasurer, and Joseph Blount's account of the use of town taxes, in 1786, are in the Cupola House Collection.

¹⁵⁷ Cupola House Collection. Orders dated September 16, 1790, September 2, 1791, and December 23, 1791; receipts dated December 29, 1791, January 18, 1792, and March, 1792; Mare's autograph statement of the commissioners' account with him as "their Treasur," dated April 2, 1792; and two orders dated April 2, 1792, one of them to "John Mare Esqu Treasurer of Town of Edenton."

¹⁵⁸ Certificate dated May 15, 1789, stating that Mare had taken oath as a commissioner is in the Cupola House Collection.

¹⁵⁹ Griffith J. McRee (ed.), *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 2 volumes, 1858) II, 181-183.

governor of North Carolina and future United States senator; the deputy grand master was Richard Caswell, who had relinquished the governorship the preceding day.¹⁶⁰ In fact, the Masonic convention had met in Tarboro because the legislature was meeting there. The next day, December 13, 1787, John Mare was nominated to the Council of State,¹⁶¹ the group of seven men who were to be the governor's closest advisers. If this was not planned beforehand, Mare's eloquence and sincerity must have made an even more effective impression than he could reasonably have dared to hope.

There was, however, one small, rather absurd complication. Three years before, John Mare's claim for payment of his bill for the goods supplied to the army was one of many the legislature ordered paid but failed to pay.¹⁶² On December 2, 1787, it came up again for consideration and was referred by the House of Commons to the Senate.¹⁶³ With his nomination to the Council of State, this claim for £46 17s. 2d. apparently became a political liability. On December 20 he was graciously given permission to withdraw his claim¹⁶⁴ and duly appointed to the council.¹⁶⁵ On November 10, 1788, he was nominated again.¹⁶⁶ He reached the pinnacle of his political career in November, 1789, when he represented the borough town of Edenton¹⁶⁷ at the convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. He voted for ratification¹⁶⁸ and was nominated for the third time to the Council of State.¹⁶⁹ As a member of that convention, he had a hand in chartering the University of North Carolina.

Respected, influential, successful—John Mare was all of these—but there were already hints of impending trouble. He might have been one of the large landowners of Chowan County had he wished, for his wife inherited several thousand acres of land from her father; yet, he had immediately sold all his wife's land, more than 2,500

¹⁶⁰ "Early Minutes of the Grand Lodge," VII, 145-146; Haywood, *Freemasonry*, 18-19, states that this charge is preserved in *Ahiman Rezon and Masonic Ritual of North Carolina*, Part II, 6, published in New Bern in 1805; Haywood, *Freemasonry*, 20, and Spires, "Colonial History of Unanimity Lodge," unnumbered 6, list the officers: Samuel Johnston, grand master; Richard Caswell, deputy grand master; Richard Ellis, senior grand warden; Michael Payne, junior grand warden; Abner Neale, grand treasurer; and James Glasgow, grand secretary. Harris to Walker, February 8, 1961, says "Caswell received four of the nine votes cast [for deputy grand master], John Mare received two, and three votes were divided among two others."

¹⁶¹ Clark, *State Records*, XX, 226.

¹⁶² Clark, *State Records*, XIX, 763.

¹⁶³ Clark, *State Records*, XX, 200.

¹⁶⁴ Clark, *State Records*, XX, 270.

¹⁶⁵ Clark, *State Records*, XX, 455.

¹⁶⁶ Clark, *State Records*, XX, 491; XXI, 19. He was not reelected.

¹⁶⁷ Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 39.

¹⁶⁸ Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 49.

¹⁶⁹ Clark, *State Records*, XXI, 251, 611. Again he was not reelected from a much larger list of nominees.

acres, for only £600 in state currency, at a time when he was already established in business.¹⁷⁰ The price he paid for the two unimproved lots in Edenton¹⁷¹ was ten times what it should have been, judging by similar sales that same year, and £600 for the Broad Street lot was unreasonably high. The first evidence of financial difficulties, however, was the tapering off of the amount of duty he paid and the disappearance of his name after 1793 from the records of the Port of Roanoke, clear proof that he was no longer importing merchandise for his store. By the spring of 1795 he had lost all his land in Tyrrell and Bertie counties.¹⁷² Personal tragedy befell him, too, in the loss of his wife.¹⁷³ In September, 1797, he took steps to secure some property for the children by conveying to his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth Anne, "for love and affection" and £5 apiece, three slaves each.¹⁷⁴ The token payment safeguarded the children's possession as a gift to minors could not have done. Six months later he was sued for debt and confronted with a court order for the sale of property amounting to £375 5s. 4d. plus the sheriff's fee. On May 20, 1798, to satisfy that debt, the Broad Street property was sold for £315; presumably the rest was paid in cash.¹⁷⁵ In April, 1799, Mare mortgaged to Allen Ramsay his home and the house next door, for £518 5s. 6d. to be paid by October 13.¹⁷⁶ It was the beginning of final disaster. The mortgage was not paid, and by law John Mare automatically became liable for twice its amount. Allen Ramsay's untimely death left his executors no choice but to sue and made impossible any verdict not in their favor. On October 20, 1800, the court awarded them the full sum of £1,036 9s. 0d., plus damages of £8 3s. 0d. and the sheriff's fee, to be paid by April 6, 1801. On May 4, 1801, the Mare home was sold by the sheriff for £100 to Alexander Millen, and the house next door for £550 to Thomas Satterfield.¹⁷⁷ The two comparatively worthless "back lots" were not—probably could not be—sold. Of the twenty-two slaves listed in the 1790 census, six

¹⁷⁰ Chowan Deed Book, R-2, 429.

¹⁷¹ Chowan Deed Book T-1, 207, 208. The price was £250, but the top tax valuation for the two lots together never exceeded £10.

¹⁷² Chowan Tax List, 1795.

¹⁷³ It was required by law that a wife should give her consent, in private examination, to the sale of property in which she had a dower right, and the statement of this consent was recorded in a postscript after the deed. No such postscript appears with any of the deeds disposing of John Mare's property. The census of 1800, manuscript in the State Archives, confirms the fact that she was dead by then.

¹⁷⁴ Chowan Deed Book A-2, 62, 63; Chowan Court Minutes, June, 1795-June, 1798, December Term, 1797.

¹⁷⁵ Chowan Deed Book B-2, 210.

¹⁷⁶ Chowan Deed Book B-2, 25.

¹⁷⁷ Chowan Deed Book R-2, 525.

who were then infants or young children had been given to the Mare children in deeds which also mentioned six of the parents; and one of those must have been over fifty years old by 1797, for in that year and the next, John Mare listed only five slaves between twelve and fifty. No bills of sale have been found to show what became of the rest, but by the spring of 1800 all were gone.¹⁷⁸

Mare was one of the justices presiding for two of three days of court in June, 1798, three of four days in September, five of six days in December, and two of probably five days in March, 1799. He presided on the first morning of the next term, June 10, 1799, but he was not present that afternoon, on the remaining days of court, or ever again.¹⁷⁹ He failed to list his taxes in 1800 and did not take the list of taxables in his district in that year, when it would have been his turn. His name did not appear on the list of justices in 1800 or thereafter.¹⁸⁰ At least one other suit against him, fortunately for a small sum, was won by the plaintiff.¹⁸¹ The signs all point to a sudden and disabling illness, perhaps a stroke, a heart attack, or a crippling injury, from which he never recovered sufficiently to put his affairs in order or even to make a will.¹⁸²

He was still living in June, 1802,¹⁸³ but was dead by April, 1803.¹⁸⁴ No mention of his death has been found in the minutes of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina,¹⁸⁵ and Unanimity Lodge had ceased to meet in November, 1799, about five months after the probable beginning of his illness. No obituary notice has been found in any extant newspaper. No administrator was appointed to look after his estate nor any guardian to look after his daughters,¹⁸⁶ both still minors. All John Mare had left was the pair of "back lots," which no one wanted at any price; in effect, there was no estate to be administered. Except for their three slaves apiece, the Mare children had nothing—nothing, that is, but the loyalty and love of their mother's family.

¹⁷⁸ Chowan Tax Lists, 1797, 1798, and 1800.

¹⁷⁹ Chowan Court Minutes, June, 1795-June, 1798; Chowan Court Minutes, September, 1798-December, 1801; Chowan Court Minutes, March, 1802-March, 1808.

¹⁸⁰ Chowan Court Minutes, September, 1798-December, 1801.

¹⁸¹ David Clark was awarded damages of £7 15s. 0d. in October, 1801. See summonses in Cupola House Collection.

¹⁸² No will is recorded in Chowan Will Books or mentioned in Chowan Court Minutes.

¹⁸³ Chowan Deed Book W-1, 512. This deed refers to New Plan Lot 56 as "late the property of John Mare Esquire" and "lately Occupied by Robert Moody dece^d."

¹⁸⁴ Chowan Tax List, 1803, "Mare (John's, Estate)." Though dated July, 1803, this shows property as of April 1, like the other tax lists.

¹⁸⁵ Walker to Harris, February 1, 1961, specifically asked for the date of Mare's death; Harris to Walker, February 8, 1961, could not answer the question.

¹⁸⁶ Neither John Mare, his children, nor his property was mentioned in Chowan Court Minutes from 1800 through 1810.

Their widowed aunt, Lydia Bennett (William Bennett had died in January, 1801),¹⁸⁷ was still living on the Bennett plantation with her oldest son and six minor children.¹⁸⁸ The Bennetts assumed responsibility for the two girls, so there was no need for the court to appoint an administrator or guardian. John Boyd Bennett struggled for several years with John Mare's estate,¹⁸⁹ listed taxes for the girls,¹⁹⁰ managed their meager funds, acquired new slaves for them,¹⁹¹ and by April, 1805, bought back for them their old home in town,¹⁹² for which he failed to register the deed. Then in October, 1807, he and his mother and his eldest sister's husband all died,¹⁹³ leaving a brother who was still a minor as head of a household of six girls, of whom Mary Mare may have been the only one not herself a minor.

The next summer, on July 28, 1808, Mary Mare was married at the Bennett home to Nathaniel C. Bissell, a sea captain of thirty.¹⁹⁴ On September 14, 1809, Elizabeth Anne Mare was married to John Dickinson,¹⁹⁵ a son of her father's friend, Dr. Samuel Dickinson.¹⁹⁶ On March 12, 1812, she died at her sister's home, leaving no children. The rector of St. Paul's Church preached her funeral sermon,¹⁹⁷ and she was probably buried in the churchyard with members of her husband's family. Her husband died in Rhode Island three years later.¹⁹⁸ The Dickinsons were members of St. Paul's, as were Nathaniel Bissell's brother Charles and his wife.¹⁹⁹ Bissell himself was not, though after his marriage he subscribed and paid \$4.00 toward a plank fence to enclose the churchyard.²⁰⁰ After Elizabeth (Mare)

¹⁸⁷ Chowan Deed Book B-2, 293; *Raleigh Register*, February 10, 1801.

¹⁸⁸ Chowan Will Book B, 289.

¹⁸⁹ Chowan Tax Lists, 1804, 1805, 1806, and 1807.

¹⁹⁰ Chowan Tax Lists, 1805 and 1807.

¹⁹¹ Elizabeth Anne Mare's marriage contract lists two of the slaves her father had given her, their four children, and five more. Chowan Deed Book E-2, 115.

¹⁹² Chowan Tax List, 1805, shows one town lot for Mary and Eliza Mare; Chowan Tax List, 1807, shows one lot valued at £100 for Mary and Elissa Mare; Chowan Deed Book E-2, 5, shows that Elizabeth Anne Mare sold her interest in New Plan Lot 55 to her brother-in-law, Nathaniel C. Bissell, on April 21, 1809.

¹⁹³ *Edenton Gazette and North Carolina Advertiser*, October 8, 1807, and November 5, 1807; *Raleigh Register*, October 15, 1807.

¹⁹⁴ Chowan Marriage Bonds, 12; *Edenton Gazette and North Carolina Advertiser*, July 28, 1808; the Bissell tombstone in St. Paul's churchyard, Edenton.

¹⁹⁵ Chowan Marriage Bonds, 46; Chowan Deed Book E-2, 115; *Edenton Gazette and North Carolina Advertiser*, September 15, 1809; and *Raleigh Register*, September 21, 1809, which gives an incorrect date for the wedding.

¹⁹⁶ Dr. Dickinson's family occupied the Cupola House, Edenton, from 1777 to 1918. Apparently John Dickinson and his wife did not live there with his mother.

¹⁹⁷ *Edenton Gazette*, March 17, 1812; *Raleigh Register*, March 27, 1812.

¹⁹⁸ *Raleigh Register*, May 26, 1815.

¹⁹⁹ 1806-1809 Repairs, St. Paul's Church. John Boyd Bennett subscribed \$15.00; Charles Bissell and his wife subscribed \$25.00 and \$12.00, respectively, with her pledge later increased to \$20.00; John Dickinson subscribed \$5.00; his mother subscribed \$20.00 toward building a spire and buying a clock.

²⁰⁰ 1806-1809 Repairs, St. Paul's Church.

Dickinson's death, Bissell and his wife sold the Church Street house²⁰¹ (they had bought Elizabeth's interest before her marriage)²⁰² and moved to the southwest corner of Broad and Queen Streets,²⁰³ next door to the Broad Street lot John Mare had once owned. There Mary (Mare) Bissell spent the rest of her life.²⁰⁴

It must have been a lonely life in some ways, with no children and her husband away a great deal. Much responsibility and much anxiety fell on Mary. She had to take care of her husband's property during his long absences, and he did not keep it in particularly good order.²⁰⁵ On the morning of July 4, 1821, for instance, she was given exactly four hours to get the tenants out of a building he owned in Cheapside, because for two consecutive years it had been classed as a fire hazard.²⁰⁶ His warehouse on Long Wharf must have been almost more than she could cope with.²⁰⁷ There were financial difficulties, too, mortgages,²⁰⁸ and suits for debt which forced the sale of some of her slaves.²⁰⁹ Worst of all were his shipwrecks, though they at least were over and he was safe before she found out about them. In the fall of 1819 Captain Bissell's brig "William" was plundered by a pirate who took about twenty-five precious bags of coffee and all the Negro members of the crew. Then, before they could complete the voyage from St. Thomas to New Orleans, the "William" foundered and sank; the crew, what was left of it, was saved by a ship bound for Havana.²¹⁰ They were saved again, ten years later, when the schooner "Two Brothers" was lost near Egg Harbor, New Jersey, on its way to New York.²¹¹ The Bissell family was in the shipping business, literally, and the ships Nathaniel Bissell sailed were usually family-owned. In this light, his financial problems seem only normal. On May 23, 1833, "being about to leave Edenton by sea," he made his will, leaving what he had to his wife.²¹² He returned safely from his voyage but died on March 31, 1834,²¹³ and was buried in St. Paul's churchyard.

²⁰¹ Chowan Deed Book G-2, 113.

²⁰² Chowan Deed Book E-2, 5.

²⁰³ Chowan Deed Book D-1, 186.

²⁰⁴ Chowan Deed Book, L-2, 163.

²⁰⁵ Cupola House Collection. Order dated July 8, 1820, about a shed considered a fire hazard; and constable's report dated September 13, 1821.

²⁰⁶ Orders dated July 8, 1820, and July 4, 1821, in Cupola House Collection.

²⁰⁷ Cupola House Collection. Constable's report dated September 13, 1821.

²⁰⁸ Chowan Deed Books G-2, 459; H-2, 336; and K-2, 291.

²⁰⁹ Chowan Deed Book K-2, 648.

²¹⁰ *Edenton Gazette*, November 22, 1819.

²¹¹ *Edenton Gazette*, November 14, 1829.

²¹² Chowan Will Book C, 174.

²¹³ Bissell tombstone, St. Paul's churchyard, Edenton.

On the last day of October, 1836, Mary (Mare) Bissell made her own will, one of the most interesting documents recorded in Chowan County. Her home and more than a thousand acres in Washington County were to be sold to pay her husband's debts. One hundred dollars was to be given to the vestry of St. Paul's Church "to aid in the erection of a Suitable enclosure around the grave yard of said Church, within which I wish my mortal remains to be entered [*sic*]." One hundred dollars was set aside for the care of her old nurse Hagar, who was to be allowed to decide for herself where she wished to live, since she did not wish to go to Africa. The most unexpected provisions of the will were those for the seven slaves who did wish to go, one of them the youngest of the three her father had conveyed to her almost forty years before. The two lots on East Gale Street were to be sold (they brought only \$30.00)²¹⁴ to defray their expenses. The slaves were to be sent by the American "Colozensation" Society—Mary's spelling was undeniably weak—to one of its colonies in Africa. It was perhaps unreasonably optimistic to hope for a settlement of Nathaniel Bissell's claim against the French government for one of his ships seized by French privateers during the naval war of 1796-1797, but there were definite instructions for the use of the proceeds, if there were any: The rest of her husband's debts were to be settled; \$100 was to be paid to St. Paul's Church; \$500 was to be given to a cousin in New Bern; and the remainder, and any balance after the settlement of her estate, was to be paid to the American Colonization Society for the use of her slaves who were going to Africa. If Hagar should die before her money was used up, the remainder was to go toward the churchyard fence.²¹⁵

Exactly a week later, on November 7, 1836, Mary A. Bissell died.²¹⁶ She was buried in the grave of her husband, under the magnolias south of the church. Their broken tombstone is inscribed:

In memory of / Cap. Nathaniel C. Bissell / Who departed this life / March 31, 1834 / Aged 56 years / Also / his Consort / Mary A. Bissell / Who departed this life / Nov. 8th 1836 / Aged 51 years 9 mos.²¹⁷

²¹⁴ Chowan Deed Book L-2, 388.

²¹⁵ Chowan Will Book C, 203.

²¹⁶ Mary A. Bissell was one of the thirty-nine members of St. Paul's Church in 1826 when a parish register, now lost, was begun. In a copy of this register, contained in the oldest extant parish register, a note beside her name reads: "died Nov. 7 1836," one day earlier than the date on the Bissell tombstone.

²¹⁷ This stone, originally vertical, was broken in two, buried in another location, and forgotten. It was discovered accidentally in the planting of some shrubs, relocated by E. V. Moore by means of a 1912 chart of the churchyard, and laid horizontally in concrete to prevent further damage.

III

Two minute details have been omitted from the two preceding sketches, details without significance in either sketch considered apart from the other: an office held by John Mare in a Masonic lodge and the married name of William (Joseph) Williams' daughter. Unlike the portrait of the unknown young man, which was only evidence, these were proof that the John Mare of Edenton was the John Mare of New York and that William (Joseph) Williams was his nephew. Without them, the John Mare of New York had no future and the John Mare of Edenton no past. True, both were Anglicans and both Masons, but there the resemblance apparently stopped. There was no indication that the young artist of New York was ever in business or politics, and no indication, except for one man's belief, that the older merchant and politician of North Carolina ever had the slightest interest in art.

The first scrap of information exchanged between the writers of this article locked the two parts of the puzzle together. When John Mare visited Unanimity Lodge on April 16, 1776, and on January 27 and 28, 1777, he was listed in its records as senior warden of St. John's Lodge, New York.²¹⁸ There could be doubt about what had become of the vanished artist.²¹⁹

The married name of William (Joseph) Williams' daughter served a double purpose, indirectly identifying the John Mare of Edenton with the John Mare of New York and proving that he was her father's uncle. The record on which the history of the Williams family is based is contained in the Bible of William (Joseph) Williams' daughter Ann, who married John Ingalls of New Bern; "Mrs. Ann Ingalls who resides in Newbern" was the cousin named in Mary (Mare) Bissell's will. The kinship between Mare and Williams explains the date on the Williams portraits of the Reverend Charles Pettigrew and his wife, August 20, 1785, and September 15, 1785, respectively. They are even marked "Edenton" after the signature.²²⁰ The fact that the Pettigrew portraits were painted in Edenton at a

²¹⁸ Goodwin double-checked these entries because of Spires' statement that Mare was junior warden, and found that *J* and *S* were hard to distinguish in the writing of the secretary of that period; but the second letter is *e*, not *u*, so it is certain that Mare was listed as senior warden of St. John's.

²¹⁹ The account with John Mare of E. Dutith & Co., Philadelphia, mentioning "Mr. Cummings the Lawyer," who had written and sealed a deposition for them, confirms John Mare's presence in Edenton, where William Cummings practiced law for many years. The photostat shows Mare's unmistakable signature.

²²⁰ Mrs. Henry W. Howell, Jr., librarian, Frick Art Reference Library, New York City, to Elizabeth V. Moore, March 28, 1966, letter in possession of E. V. Moore.

time when Williams was believed to have been working only in New York lends credence to the possibility that he may have been the second free white male over sixteen years of age in John Mare's household in the 1790 census, whose presence is otherwise unexplained.²²¹ Such intimacy would help to account for his daughter's being remembered in Mary (Mare) Bissell's will.

There are important questions still unanswered. Where was John Mare educated, to be able to hold his own among the leaders of the state? Who taught him to paint, and where? Why did he leave New York for a tiny town like Edenton? If it was to seek commissions, he seems to have been notably unsuccessful. The fact that his nephew painted the Pettigrew portraits is fairly good evidence that Mare, a better painter, was not painting professionally at that time. Strangest of all, why did he stop painting? The recent, rather thorough canvass of pre-1860 portraits conducted by the Colonial Dames in preparation for the publication of the *North Carolina Portrait Index* failed to discover a single portrait painted by him²²² or attributable to him. He cannot have stopped because of any incapacitating illness or injury to his hand or arm, for the same dashing signature that marked his portraits in New York continued to appear on legal documents in North Carolina for nearly twenty-five years. The greatest mystery in John Mare's life is yet to be solved.

²²¹ William Williams does not appear in the 1790 census in New York.

²²² Mrs. Henry W. Howell, Jr., to Elizabeth V. Moore, June 19, 1962, letter in possession of E. V. Moore.

REACTION IN NORTH CAROLINA TO THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

BY HAROLD D. MOSER *

The central problem for the successful formation and continuing existence of the Confederacy was that of retaining the loyalty of its people. According to legend, all the white population and even most of the slaves living in the seceded states accepted wholeheartedly the principles of the Confederacy and fought courageously for its existence until overwhelmed by the force of numbers and the effects of the blockade. "No people have ever poured out their blood more freely in defense of their liberties and independence," said Confederate statesman Judah P. Benjamin, "nor have endured with greater cheerfulness than have the men and women of these Confederate States."¹ There was truth in Benjamin's statement, at least in the excited early months of the war. In its initial call for volunteers, the Davis administration received more state militia than it could arm and equip.

Nevertheless, there soon emerged deep divisions among the people of the seceded states, divisions which contributed to the ultimate defeat of the Confederacy. As the war dragged on and war-weariness became a factor of increasing importance, over 100,000 men deserted from the Confederate forces,² and in 1865 officials wrote "DE-SERTER" across hundreds of discharges. Much of this disaffection arose from military reverses or from the gradual collapse of supplies, but there remained a basis for alienation in the Confederacy's *raison d'être*.

The foundation for the Confederacy's existence lay in the Jeffersonian theory of state rights, the concept of a federal compact of sovereign states wherein the states retained all sovereignty and all powers not specifically delegated to the general government. In 1845

* Mr. Moser is a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

¹ Quoted in Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937), 30.

² Thomas L. Livermore, *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America: 1861-1865* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), 5-10.

Governor William A. Graham of North Carolina elucidated the majority viewpoint when he explained that "the line of partition between State and Federal powers, should be kept distinctly marked; and while those yielded by the States should be liberally exercised for the general good, those retained should be carefully watched over and preserved."³ These "immediate interests" of the state, "wisely retained under State jurisdiction," embodied a broad program and a vast area of action, including police power over the individual; the definition of citizenship; the chartering of banks and corporations; the decisions for such internal improvements as railroads, roads, and canals; the determination of interest rates; the control of the militia; and the regulation of slavery. In general the state should regulate the economic, social, and political activities within its boundaries.

Contrasting with these views was the national outlook of the Republican party and its platform for national banks, national railways, national grants to farmers, a national economic system, national citizenship, and even national standards for the labor supply.⁴ In opposition to the national program of the North, the majority of the South's population had pledged its support to the southern program of state rights. Diametric to this strong state rights philosophy was the southern nationalistic program of conscription and appropriation of the state militia, which the Confederacy's political leaders found necessary to adopt in order to secure a vigorous and unified prosecution of the war against the invading North. Herein existed the internal political problems of the Confederacy, and the debate among southerners concerned state rights versus southern nationalism. So long as the Confederate government held to the principle of state rights, the majority of the nonslaveholding populace was quite willing to support the war for the southern cause.

As the war progressed, however, the Confederate government adopted a national program of conscription with class exemptions, thus impairing the nonslaveholders' perception of a war waged for state rights. Almost simultaneously the nonslaveholding element received a second reason for doubting the state rights basis for the war: On September 22, 1862, and January 1, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamations. The ensuing discussions of the two Emancipation Proclamations by southern poli-

³ *Weekly Raleigh Register*, January 3, 1845.

⁴ Avery O. Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861*, Volume VI of *A History of the South*, edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press [projected 10 volumes, 1948-], 1953), 313.

ticians and editors tended to confirm these rapidly growing doubts of the nonslaveholders. As a result of the more cognizable national programs of the North and South, the war, ostensibly waged over the broad program of state rights, devolved into a defense of slavery by the men too poor to hire substitutes or to own twenty Negroes.

As the Confederate Congress began its attempts to present a united front against the North in the spring of 1862, the viewpoint of a war for state rights began to weaken and the idea of governmental favoritism began to capture the attention of some of the owners of few slaves and the nonslaveholders. In mid-April, the Confederate Congress passed its first Conscription Act, which called into service all white men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five. A week later, the congressmen passed an act which established a system of class exemptions from military service.⁵ This measure came to be one of the outstanding blunders of the Congress because it led to the accusation of governmental discrimination.

The inauguration of a system of compulsory military service and discriminatory exemptions introduced to the nonslaveholders the germ of the notion that they were prosecuting a war for the rich. For the first time since the war began they felt that it was being waged, not for the constitutional principle of state rights, but for slavery.⁶ Reflecting on the matter in 1886, Zebulon Baird Vance, war governor of North Carolina, stated that "here the first open and undisguised complaints were heard. . . . It did more," he added, "than anything else to alienate the affections of the common people," because "it opened a wide door to demagogues to appeal to the non-slaveholding class, and make them believe that the only issue was the protection of slavery, in which they were sacrifices for the sole benefit of the masters."⁷

The development of this idea among the nonslaveholders was fatal to the slaveholders' cause. Vance explained that "seven-tenths of our people owned no slaves, and, to say the least of it felt no great and enduring enthusiasm for its preservation, especially when it seemed to them that it was in no danger." The idea had arisen, he added, and

⁵ Wilfred Buck Yearns, *The Confederate Congress* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960), 65-67.

⁶ Georgia Lee Tatum, "Disloyalty and Disloyal Organizations in the Confederacy" unpublished doctoral dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1932), 15-16, 140-141, hereinafter cited as Tatum, "Disloyalty."

⁷ Zebulon Baird Vance, "Lecture Delivered Before the Andrew Post, No. 15, of the Grand Army, in Boston, Massachusetts, December 8, 1886," quoted in Clement Dowd, *Life of Zebulon B. Vance* (Charlotte: Observer Printing and Publishing House, 1897), 447-448, hereinafter cited as Vance, "Grand Army Lecture," Boston.

"our statesmen were not wise enough to put the issue on any other ground."⁸

In the fall of 1862 two additional factors altered the war's purpose in the eyes of the nonslaveholder. The Confederate Congress passed the second Conscription Act and was debating the adoption of a new exemption act which, among other things, would allow exemption for the owners of twenty or more slaves.⁹ Before Congress ratified the new Exemption Act, an external force entered the picture. On September 22, 1862, President Abraham Lincoln issued his preliminary emancipation proclamation which threatened the manumission of slaves within the rebellious states on and after January 1, 1863, if these states were still in rebellion.¹⁰

When news reached North Carolina that President Lincoln had issued his preliminary emancipation proclamation, newspaper editors predicted that Lincoln's manumission edict would serve to unify the South and bring external aid to the Confederacy. Attacking the proclamation as "*brutum fulmen*—mere sound and fury, signifying nothing,"¹¹ as "ridiculous and unconstitutional,"¹² as a "clear confession of the inability of the *whites* of the North to crush out a 'rebellion,'"¹³ and as an example of the "fanaticism which has been growing upon the people of the North for years,"¹⁴ editors attempted to invigorate the Tar Heel citizenry. "Lincoln's proclamation," said the staunch Confederate John W. Syme, "will . . . array every conservative or Union man in the Border States on the side of the Southern Confederacy." And "this bid for a servile insurrection" would convince foreign powers that the fanaticism of the North could not

⁸ Vance, "Grand Army Lecture," Boston, 437.

⁹ "Proceedings of the First Confederate Congress," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLVI (January, 1928), 244-245, hereinafter cited as "Proceedings of the Confederate Congress."

¹⁰ For a discussion of the factors and developments leading to President Lincoln's issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, see John Hope Franklin, *The Emancipation Proclamation* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963), 1-57; J. G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press [Revised Edition], 1951), 343-385; William B. Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), 249-272; William B. Hesseltine and Hazel C. Wolf, "The Altoona Conference and the Emancipation Proclamation," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXI (July, 1947), 195-205; Mark M. Krug, "The Republican Party and the Emancipation Proclamation," *Journal of Negro History*, XLVIII (April, 1963), 98-114; Charles Francis Adams, "John Quincy Adams and Martial Law," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, Second Series, XV (January, 1902), 436-478.

¹¹ *Daily Journal* (Wilmington), September 30, 1862, hereinafter cited as *Daily Journal*.

¹² *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), October 1, 1862, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Standard*.

¹³ *Weekly Raleigh Register*, October 1, 1862.

¹⁴ *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), October 6, 1862, hereinafter cited as *Carolina Watchman*.

be tolerated.¹⁵ The Wilmington people learned from James Fulton's *Daily Journal* that "Lincoln's proclamation is another move to unite the South."¹⁶ The proclamation, claimed Alexander Gorman, editor of the *Raleigh Spirit of the Age*, would "strengthen the unity of the South and embitter its hostility to the whole vile Yankee nation."¹⁷ At this time, most editors agreed with Syme that it was a "first-rate edict for the South."¹⁸

The fact that the proclamation threatened the liberation of slaves, however, led to the argument among the nonslaveholding citizenry that the war had definitely assumed a new aim—not the original intent of preserving state rights but a campaign in support of slavery. As a consequence, statement after statement issued by North Carolina editors who believed that the proclamation would be a unifying force in the Confederacy, served instead to intensify disaffection with the Confederacy among a large majority of North Carolinians. "Every movement of the tyrant," William Woods Holden, editor of the *Raleigh Standard*, said, "only makes the fact more clear, that the chief design of his [Lincoln's] party in the prosecution of this war, is the destruction of slavery."¹⁹ Syme added that "the extreme policy of the *ultra* Abolitionists" had now become that of the Lincoln administration.²⁰ The proclamation, added John Joseph Bruner, editor of the *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, had at last culminated in the complete destruction of the Constitution.²¹ Gorman commented that Lincoln had just as much right to attack slavery "as the Emperor of Russia or the Queen of England has, and that is none at all. Even if the slave states were under the government of the United States, the Constitution which he has sworn faithfully to administer gives him no power to do so wicked an act"; furthermore, Lincoln had no power to announce even a constitutional act in the Confederacy, because "it owes him no allegiance."²² Even the editor of the Baptist *Biblical Recorder*, J. D. Hufham, joined the argument. He agreed with the *Washington Republican* that "the President has gone beyond the legislation of Congress, although not beyond their known wishes." He explained, however, that this was a confession which he "hardly

¹⁵ *Weekly Raleigh Register*, October 1, 1862.

¹⁶ *Daily Journal*, September 30, 1862.

¹⁷ *Spirit of the Age* (Raleigh), October 6, 1862, hereinafter cited as *Spirit of the Age*.

¹⁸ *Weekly Raleigh Register*, October 1, 1862.

¹⁹ *North Carolina Standard*, October 1, 1862.

²⁰ *Weekly Raleigh Register*, October 1, 1862.

²¹ *Carolina Watchman*, October 6, 1862.

²² *Spirit of the Age*, October 6, 1862.

expected to see so candidly made" in a United States newspaper.²³

Virtual editorial unity of sentiment in regard to the preliminary proclamation thus existed from September 30 to October 8: The editors generally agreed on the proclamation's unconstitutionality; most of them stated that the proclamation confirmed their contention that the abolition of slavery and the subjugation of the South were the primary motives of the North; they predicted unity within the South and forthcoming support from outside the Confederacy.

The last of these predictions proved incorrect. No support from either the border states or foreign powers resulted. And consensus among the editors that the Union prosecuted the war *against* slavery, while not producing complete disunity between the slaveholders and the nonslaveholders, tended to lead the latter nearer to the conclusion that they must be fighting *for* slavery, an institution in which they had a casual interest only.²⁴ Therefore, instead of creating unity, the editors aided in the promotion of disunity among the populace. Instead of invigorating the people, they helped to destroy the basis on which the nonslaveholders offered their support to the civil conflict—state rights; and the war became a struggle between two opposing ideologies—proslavery sentiment versus abolitionism.

With the issuance of the proclamation the Confederate Congress began a discussion of retaliation measures, and the southern nationalist program became clearer. On September 29 Thomas J. Semmes, Confederate senator from Louisiana, advocated before the Congress the adoption of measures to secure the withdrawal of the proclamation or to arrest the execution of it. Several senators did not think the Semmes proposal strong enough, however, and Mississippi Senator James Phelan proposed fighting under the black flag. The members of Congress referred the question to the Judiciary Committee.²⁵

On October 1, 1862, the Judiciary Committee brought forward its proposals. Presented by Semmes, the majority report detailed the earlier atrocities of the enemy and advocated that henceforth "all commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the enemy . . . when captured, shall be imprisoned at hard labor, or otherwise put at hard labor until the termination of the war," or until the United States government repealed the proclamation. The resolutions further stated that every white officer, noncommissioned or commissioned, who

²³ *Biblical Recorder*, October 8, 1862.

²⁴ Frank L. Owsley, "Defeatism in the Confederacy," *North Carolina Historical Review*, III (July, 1926), 446-447, hereinafter cited as Owsley, "Defeatism in the Confederacy"; Tatum, "Disloyalty," 3, 141-142.

²⁵ "Proceedings of the Confederate Congress," XLVII, 7-8.

served as commander of Negro forces or who tried to incite slaves to rebel was to suffer the death penalty if captured.²⁶

Disagreement within the committee resulted in the presentation of a minority report which asked for a more vigorous prosecution of the war by raising the black flag. Headed by Phelan, the retaliationists requested that "all rules of civilized warfare should be disregarded . . . and that a war of extermination should be waged against every invader whose hostile foot shall cross the borders of the Confederate States."²⁷

The Confederate Senate, however, failed to adopt either of the resolutions and only requested that they be printed for discussion at a later date.²⁸ Meanwhile, senators from the Lower South continued to introduce resolutions demanding retaliation.²⁹

These discussions on the adoption of retaliatory measures disrupted the harmony of opinion which previously had characterized the North Carolina editors. Immediately, the two leading editors in the state, William Woods Holden and John W. Syme, disagreed on the proposals in the Confederate Congress for the adoption of retaliatory measures. They slashed at each other through their editorials and by their rebuttals spread their viewpoints throughout the state. Holden captured the support of the nonslaveholders and paved the road for future disaffection, while Syme maintained a staunch support for the Confederacy and the position of the slaveholders.³⁰

In the late summer and early fall of 1862, even before his arguments against Syme and retaliation, Holden, through the *North Carolina Standard*, had gained the confidence of a substantial majority of the citizens of the state. His program, which organized the discontented elements of the state into the Conservative party, met with success. Through Holden's editorial support, Zebulon Baird Vance, the Conservative party candidate, won the gubernatorial election over William Johnston, the Syme-supported, Confederate party nominee. Furthermore, a Conservative majority in the legislature, also elected with Holden's support, had ousted several appointed officials and replaced them with Conservatives.³¹ With the proclamation and

²⁶ "Proceedings of the Confederate Congress," XLVII, 25-27.

²⁷ "Proceedings of the Confederate Congress," XLVII, 28-31.

²⁸ "Proceedings of the Confederate Congress," XLVII, 31.

²⁹ "Proceedings of the Confederate Congress," XLVII, 33-37.

³⁰ Robert Neal Elliott, Jr., *The Raleigh Register, 1790-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press [Volume 36 of *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1955), 106-107, hereinafter cited as Elliott, *The Raleigh Register*.

³¹ Elliott, *The Raleigh Register*, 106-107; Horace W. Raper, "William W. Holden and the Peace Movement in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXI (October, 1954), 494-495; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), 46, 48.

the acts of the Confederate Congress, he was able to entrench his position as representative of the common people.³²

Holden provided the setting for the disagreements on October 3 when he reported in his columns the discussions which had ensued in the Confederate Congress concerning retaliation against Lincoln's preliminary proclamation. Though still opposing and denouncing the proclamation, he attacked Congress for its attempts to raise the black flag and to abandon the rules of civilized warfare. Southerners, he argued, "profess to be Christians, not savages." He added, however, that "if the North should raise such a flag, we should be compelled to meet them in the same way; but a war of this sort would promise no beneficent results to us or to humanity." Though he recognized that "abolitionism in its worst form" had control over the North, he found no ground which warranted the adoption of such a stringent program.³³

On October 8 John W. Syme replied to Holden's denunciation of the retaliatory debate in the Confederate Congress. He ridiculed Holden's position and, attacking Holden in sarcastic tones for permitting his "exquisite sensibilities and truly Christian proclivities" to run away with him, suggested the adoption of any measures, regardless of their nature, which would restrain the invader in his "demoniacal course." He added that he greatly favored the Phelan resolution, the stronger of the proposals from the Judiciary Committee, because "far too much leniency has already been shown to the accursed Yankees . . . [whose] devillish mission is either to cut our throats or manacle our limbs."³⁴

By October 10 Holden had become thoroughly disgusted with the question of "unfurling the black flag" and lashed back at both Syme and the Confederate Congress. He declared that if the "spirit of the times" were judged by the "vaporings of grave Senators and gray headed invalids," the conclusion would be that the war was "becoming more sanguinary and barbarian" as it advanced. Holden also leveled his attack at slaveholders as well as political leaders. He claimed it to be a fact that those

who are so extremely anxious that both armies should throw down the gauntlet and henceforth allow no quarters, are not in the war, and never expect to go in. We have yet to learn of the first intelligent officer or soldier of the army who favors this wholesale and inhuman butchery. War at best

³² Tatum, "Disloyalty," 142.

³³ *North Carolina Standard*, October 3, 1862.

³⁴ *Weekly Raleigh Register*, October 8, 1862.

is butchery, yet those educated to arms profess to feel some of the promptings of civilization to guide them on the most sanguinary battle-field. . . . The case is becoming too serious for madness. Give it a truce, and let us not forget that the eyes of the world and of God are upon us.³⁵

When the debates on Lincoln's proclamation had subsided in the Confederate Congress, the legislators once again directed their attention to the exemption measure. Earlier, in September, 1862, they had passed the second Conscription Act, which permitted President Davis to call into service for three years all white men between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five who were not legally exempt at the time. A week later the April, 1862, Exemption Act was replaced by the second Exemption Act, which excused from conscription school-teachers, ministers, state and Confederate officials, mail carriers, salt-makers, druggists, shoemakers, pacifist religious groups who paid a \$500 tax or furnished a substitute, newspaper editors, cotton and woolen mill employees, blacksmiths, tanners, and many others engaged in essential occupations.³⁶ The provision which caused the greatest controversy was one which exempted any person who owned a minimum of twenty slaves.

Once again the accusation of discriminatory legislation erupted. Holden asserted that the Confederate Congress by its exemption system had "divided our people into classes of slaveholder and non-slaveholder," and exempted "the former from service because he happens to own a certain species of property of certain value." With this general attitude, Holden began his strongest appeal to the non-slaveholders. He immediately linked together Lincoln's preliminary emancipation proclamation and the Exemption Act of the Confederate Congress. "Mr. Lincoln made an effort recently, in his emancipation proclamation," he claimed, "to induce the non-slaveholder of the South to believe that the war was waged solely on account of negroes." Now, he said, the Confederate Congress was aiding Lincoln in his cause "by an act discriminating between the slaveholder and non-slaveholder, [which] gives color, if not confirmation to this belief thus attempted to be produced by our common enemy." He continued his attack by pointing out that the "war is waged, not alone for negro property, but for Constitutional liberty and in defence of our homes."³⁷

³⁵ *North Carolina Standard*, October 10, 1862.

³⁶ Clement Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1958), 86, hereinafter cited as Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy*.

³⁷ *North Carolina Standard*, October 24, 1862.

Admitting that the protection of slavery seemed to be a factor in the Confederate prosecution of the war, Holden refused to accept it as the only factor. He summarized the constitutional argument which had received support from both slaveholders and nonslaveholders at the outset of the conflict. Since the preliminary emancipation proclamation, Holden alleged, the Confederate Congress had attempted to protect slavery in the states through the Exemption Act, whereas fourteen years previously southern leaders had demanded that the centralized federal government not interfere with the institution of slavery, since the "power to protect carried with it the power to control or abolish." Holden went on to say that because the northern people had tried to abolish slavery through the federal government the union between the northern and southern states had been severed. Now, he claimed, "the [Confederate] Congress, disregarding the Constitution, the rights and duties of the States, and the views and feelings of the people . . . assumes control of slavery in the States."³⁸ Thus Holden contended that the Confederate Congress had erred, not only in effecting an Exemption Act which seemed to support the viewpoint of a war fought over the issue of slavery, but also in its attempts to protect slavery by allowing these exemptions, which were contrary to Holden's theory of state rights, contrary to the ideas held by a majority of North Carolina's citizens, and contrary to the Constitution of the Confederacy.³⁹

Although Holden's seemed to be the leading voice, his was not the only cry of discontent with these recent developments which seemed to change the Confederacy's *raison d'être*; other voices of dissent made themselves heard. On November 4, 1862, Holden printed a letter from a citizen of Granville County which attacked the Exemption Act and indicated a belief that the poor were waging a war for the protection of slavery. Pointing out that the objectives of the exemption clause were "to secure the proper police of the country" and to "enable the owners of slaves to raise food for the sustenance of those who are shielding their necks from the iron hoof of Yankee despotism," he claimed that utter failure had resulted, especially in securing the second objective.⁴⁰ On November 7 Holden reported the receipt of a letter from a "friend in one of the upper Counties." With praise for Holden's stand to protect the rights of North Caro-

³⁸ *North Carolina Standard*, October 24, 1862.

³⁹ Tatum, "Disloyalty," 141-142, points out that arguments such as those Holden used served "to convince both the poor and the non-slaveholders that the planters were a favored class; that the only issue in the war was the protection of slavery and the non-slaveholders were to be sacrificed for the benefit of the slave owners."

⁴⁰ *North Carolina Standard*, November 4, 1862.

lina's population, he explained that few people in the western part of the state owned slaves. "The farms," he continued, "are generally cultivated by white hands. Take all up to 45, and the farms are left nearly naked of hands, and there will not be half crops planted hereafter, which, instead of strengthening our army, will endanger it from starvation."⁴¹ Attacks were also leveled at the planters because of their continued cultivation of such crops as tobacco and cotton, instead of the food crops which were desperately needed.⁴²

While other newspapers of the state harped on Lincoln's proclamation and claimed that recognition from Europe would eventually result, popular sympathy with the Confederate cause began to wane.⁴³ Within the federal lines in the eastern part of the state many non-slaveholders were taking the oath of allegiance to the Union. According to the *New York Times*, the "free-labor feeling" grew, and hatred of slavery became widespread among the small farmers, who felt that slavery was the "prime cause of the rebellion."⁴⁴ At the same time anti-Confederate feeling was increasing in the inland counties. On November 14, 1862, Holden printed a letter from a Johnston County citizen which attacked the planters. Referring to a speech which Dr. James T. Leach made as a candidate for the legislature in 1860, he quoted Leach as saying that if a war should develop, "not the rich—not the large slaveholder—but the poor, hard-working, unpretending men of the South would be compelled to shoulder their muskets in defence of the South," while the slaveholders would resort to every possible measure to keep themselves out of the war. His prediction, the writer pointed out, had become a reality. The war was now being waged for the slaveholder and his property.⁴⁵

Soon the editor of the *Carolina Watchman* voiced the grievances of the nonslaveholder. Bruner pointed out that planters and manufacturers were getting rich by the war and were feeling no pressure from it. "This is a grievous wrong," he said, because "men, for the protection of whose negroes the war is waged get rich—those who have no negroes become poor." He added that unless the burden of the war be borne equally by all, the nonslaveholder who bore the whole weight of it "must sink under it, or struggle to get rid of it by investing in land and negroes." Bruner's solution, however, seemed formidable because the high price for slaves was being maintained in spite of the preliminary emancipation proclamation: those who

⁴¹ *North Carolina Standard*, November 7, 1862.

⁴² Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy*, 240-244.

⁴³ *New York Times*, October 21, 1862, reported that a Union meeting, held in Beaufort County, passed resolutions endorsing Lincoln's preliminary proclamation.

⁴⁴ *New York Times*, November 14, 1862.

⁴⁵ *North Carolina Standard*, November 14, 1862.

had money were investing in slaves in order to qualify for exemption. As a result, the nonslaveholder was bearing more and more the burden of the war.⁴⁶

By December there was tangible evidence that the enthusiasm which characterized the early part of the war was diminishing. On December 1, 1862, Lewis Battle wrote that "there is scarcely a day in which someone does not desert. . . . The condition of our army is certainly below par if desertions are as numerous in other Brigades as they are in ours."⁴⁷ At about the same time, discontent was expressed strongly in the western county of Haywood, where thirty to forty men were in open rebellion against the government.⁴⁸ In addition, disloyalty perceptibly increased in Yadkin, Cherokee, Catawba, Ashe, and Randolph counties, where few people owned slaves.⁴⁹

While desertion, disaffection, and disloyalty increased in the fall of 1862, neither the Confederate Congress nor the southern state legislatures made any effort to comply with the proposals of the preliminary emancipation proclamation; instead, many Confederate leaders immediately agitated for a stronger prosecution of the war. As a result, Lincoln's attempt to put an end to the civil struggle failed at this time and on January 1, 1863, he found it necessary to carry out his threat by declaring the slaves of the rebellious states free.

Even though most North Carolina newspapers printed the text of the January Emancipation Proclamation, editorial comment was not so prolific as it had been with the preliminary edict.⁵⁰ In mid-

⁴⁶ *Carolina Watchman*, December 8, 1862.

⁴⁷ Lewis Battle to his sister, December 1, 1862, Battle Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁴⁸ *Weekly Raleigh Register*, December 8, 1862.

⁴⁹ Owsley, "Defeatism in the Confederacy," 455.

⁵⁰ The following newspapers, in addition to those discussed in subsequent paragraphs, printed the text of the Proclamation: *Weekly Raleigh Register*, January 14, 1863; *Hillsborough Recorder*, January 14, 1863; *Greensborough Patriot*, January 15, 1863. James Fulton, editor of *Daily Journal*, did not print the text of the Proclamation, but he stated that it had been issued and added that another one would be welcomed if it raised the price of slaves as much as did the preliminary proclamation. *Daily Journal*, January 3, 6, 8, 1863.

The editorial silence on the Proclamation did not stem from a lack of concern over the document, but from another pertinent factor. The North Carolina editors' attention and comments had been sidetracked to a vindication of North Carolinians against a charge by the editor of the *Richmond Enquirer* that the North Carolina citizenry, editors, and state legislature entertained reconstruction sentiments. For a discussion of the accusations and North Carolina's rebuttals, see *North Carolina Standard*, January 6, 9, 13, 1863; *Weekly Raleigh Register*, January 7, 14, 28, 1863; *Carolina Watchman*, January 19, 1863; *Journal of the House of Commons of North Carolina, Adjourned Session, 1862-'63*, 161, hereinafter cited as *House Journal* with proper session; *Journal of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, Second Session, 1863*, 26-28, hereinafter cited as *Senate Journal*; *Public Laws of the State of North Carolina, Passed by the General Assembly, at Its Session of 1862-'63*, 80-81.

January Holden, Bruner, and Hufham expressed their sentiments and, as with the preliminary proclamation, contributed to the increased differences of opinion between the two major elements of the state's population. It was not until March, 1863, however, that several editors succinctly voiced their ideas.

In comparison with the comments of Bruner and Hufham, Holden's early editorial comment was mild and ambiguous. The Proclamation, he wrote, "is not worth the paper upon which it is written. . . . A more pusillanimous document was never committed by despotic power." Despite his contention that the document was worthless and exhibited cowardice, he indicated that the edict might affect some elements of the state's population. Therefore, he declared, "the utmost vigilance, courage, and skill are demanded on our part, to check the progress of the invader and to prevent the mischief which this paper is designed to effect."⁵¹

Bruner's editorial, couched in succinct but exaggerated terms, aided in the reduction of the war philosophy to one for the defense of slavery by emphasizing the North's war objective. "The most startling political crime, the most stupid political blunder, yet known in American history," he said, "has now been consummated." Explaining that one or both of two possible factors—wickedness and/or folly—predominated in the document, he added that Lincoln was "proclaiming the annihilation" of the Constitution, and "using the forces confided to him, for its destruction." Lincoln issued the Proclamation under the pretense that it was an act of justice to the Negro, he continued, but this was untrue. "If sympathy for the slaves and justice to the negro were the least of his motives, he would take especial care and pains that his proclamation should be fully applied to those districts where he has the means of executing its provisions." But he did not do this, exclaimed the Salisbury editor. "He directs it only to those portions of the Southern Confederacy still inhabited by free citizens," and where his edict could have no effect except to incite servile insurrection—"the real, sole purpose of this proclamation." It was impossible for Lincoln to hide his intention, he added, but failure to accomplish this desired end would result. The southern people had to choose between victory and death.⁵²

Also aiding in the evolution of the idea that slavery instead of state rights was the foundation of the South's war effort, Hufham echoed President Davis' sentiments when he told the readers of the *Biblical*

⁵¹ *North Carolina Standard*, January 9, 1863.

⁵² *Carolina Watchman*, January 12, 1863.

Recorder that "Lincoln's emancipation proclamation is pronounced 'the most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man.'" Though the abolitionists of the North had attempted to conceal their real designs, he pointed out, they were now clarified. They proposed "to turn loose four millions of people possessing childish intellects, and strong passions, and totally disqualified for self-government; not only to liberate them, but to arm them against their masters." Yet, he iterated, all hope for the South was not lost, because the northern people "have exploded the last hope of reconstruction, have consolidated the people of the South, inspired them with a determination to be free, which is stronger than death, and imparted to our soldiers a valor which renders them invincible."⁵³

Hufham's exhortation possessed little truth. Instead of consolidating the people of North Carolina, the Emancipation Proclamation helped to sever the precarious ties which held together the various economic groups of the state. "I understood well," the son of a Hendersonville minister, N. Collin Hughes, said, "that slavery in the South was at the bottom the bone of contention that precipitated the war then raging and by necessary inference the occasion of the bitter antagonism of sentiment on the subject of slaveholding between the South and the North."⁵⁴ The Quakers of Piedmont North Carolina voiced the same sentiments. One of the group said that they were "utterly opposed not only to the war itself," but also "to the system of slavery, which was the leading object of the contest."⁵⁵ With President Lincoln's Proclamation on January 1, 1863, contended Judge C. J. Pearson, "the condition of slavery became an issue in the war."⁵⁶

By the beginning of 1863 expressions of disaffection increased. On January 8, 1863, A. W. Walker, a correspondent to the *Greensborough Patriot*, explained that many of the original secessionists were so eager to obtain their rights before North Carolina seceded that they "walked us right out of the Union. They were *determined* to have *their rights, even if they had to fight for them!* But *many of them have not 'fit, nor bled, nor died' for them yet.*" He suggested that if they were not going to fight, they should "skedaddle" over to the

⁵³ *Biblical Recorder*, January 14, 28, 1863.

⁵⁴ N. Collin Hughes, *Hendersonville in Civil War Times, 1860-1865* (Hendersonville: Blue Ridge Specialty Printers, 1936), 17.

⁵⁵ Society of Friends, *An Account of the Sufferings of Friends of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, in Support of their Testimony against War, from 1861 to 1865* (Baltimore: William K. Boyle, 1868), 3.

⁵⁶ *Haley v. Haley* (1867), in Helen Tunnicliff Catterall (ed.), *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (Washington: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1929), II, 256-257.

Yankees; at the same time, he vindicated those who had favored the Union so long as they could, but who now wanted peace. "They are not to be censured or criticized for not wanting to fight," he concluded.⁵⁷ Governor Vance received a letter expressing nearly the same sentiments. More explicit and straightforward than Walker, a Bladen County resident explained that "the comon people is drove of[f] in the war to fight for the big mans negro" while the slaveholders were allowed to remain at home, raising crops and setting prices because they had the economic power to do so.⁵⁸

Though the exemption acts and the lack of food contributed to the nonslaveholders' growing indifference, the idea that slavery was the basis of the war and that the nonslaveholders were its defenders, promoted by the Emancipation Proclamations, almost always entered the picture. The problem lay in the fact that the nonslaveholders lacked direct ties with the institution, and the lack of economic interest in slavery led even to expressions of desire for the emancipation of slaves and a reconstruction of the Union. In the Piedmont area of the state some Montgomery County citizens met and expressed a desire for the reconstruction of the Union "a la Abe Lincoln."⁵⁹ On January 5, 1863, Jonathan Worth, a prominent political leader in the state, reported that on a trip from Asheboro to Whiteville nearly every man he saw openly favored reconstruction on the basis of the Constitution.⁶⁰ The *Greensborough Patriot* reported that E. B. Drake, editor of the *Iredell Express*, advocated compensated emancipation of slaves.⁶¹ Behind the Federal lines, a group of Beaufort County citizens met and passed resolutions favoring Lincoln's "wise plan of compensated emancipation," while they simultaneously denounced Edward Stanly, military governor of North Carolina, for his discouragement of emancipation.⁶² In mountainous Madison County, anti-Confederate partisans made frequent raids, destroying county property; and it was believed that these people were endeavoring "to get back into the best government that ever existed."⁶³

While substitution, exemption, conscription, and war-weariness bore heavily upon them, the nonslaveholders were even less inter-

⁵⁷ *Greensborough Patriot*, January 8, 1863.

⁵⁸ Quoted in Charles W. Ramsdell, *Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944), 47.

⁵⁹ *Weekly Raleigh Register*, January 14, 1863.

⁶⁰ Jonathan Worth to J. J. Jackson, January 5, 1863, in J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1909), I, 222.

⁶¹ *Greensborough Patriot*, February 26, 1863.

⁶² *New York Times*, January 15, 1863.

⁶³ *Weekly Raleigh Register*, January 21, 1863.

ested in losing their lives while they tried to defend slavery. As a result of the burden which many nonslaveholders felt, they deserted in increasing numbers.⁶⁴ By early January, 1863, the second Conscription Act was unenforceable among the mountain folk who owned few slaves. In fact, desertion had increased to such an extent that Governor Vance requested Secretary of War James A. Seddon to suggest methods of controlling the "desperadoes" who had formed bands of outlaws and who made travel through the mountain regions extremely dangerous. Though desertion had perceptibly increased in the Piedmont section of the state, Vance explained that he could still enforce the conscription acts among the people there; his major problem was that desertion was becoming contagious.⁶⁵ Before long, a group of "tories" had banded together in the area of Moore, Randolph, and Montgomery counties, and these renegades were causing considerable alarm. In late January Vance appealed to the loyal citizens to aid him in apprehending the deserters and asked the deserters themselves to return to their troops of their own free will.⁶⁶

While the neighboring states were attacking the Proclamation through retaliatory legislation,⁶⁷ in North Carolina the legislators apparently were attempting to counteract the growing conviction that the war was being waged in defense of slavery. Though refusing to justify their proposals on the basis of the Emancipation Proclamation, several legislators introduced bills to "permit free persons of African descent to select masters and become slaves."⁶⁸ On January 22, 1863, Representative W. W. Peebles asked:

That all free persons of color over twenty-one years of age, married or unmarried, possessing a sound and contracting mind, shall have full right, power, and authority to enslave themselves to any white citizen of this State, in the same manner and under the same rules and regulations as are now prescribed by law for the conveyance of real estate by *feme*

⁶⁴ For a discussion of other factors contributing to increased desertion, see Ella Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (New York: Century Company, 1928), 7, 11, 12, 14, 17, 19.

⁶⁵ *North Carolina Standard*, January 2, 1863; R. N. Scott and Others (eds.), *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 70 volumes [127 books, atlases, and index], 1880-1901), Series I, XVIII, 821-822, hereinafter cited as *Official Records*.

⁶⁶ *Carolina Watchman*, January 26, 1863.

⁶⁷ For instance, in the fall of 1862, the Virginia General Assembly passed an act levying a fine, double the value of the property concerned, upon any person who attempted to give effect to the preliminary emancipation proclamation. *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, Passed at its Called Session, 1862, in the Eighty-seventh Year of the Commonwealth*, 12-15.

⁶⁸ *Senate Journal, Second Session, 1863*, 30, 35-36, 44, 52-53; *House Journal, Adjourned Session, 1862-'63*, 169, 181.

coverts. . . . All free persons of color thus enslaving themselves shall be forever thereafter regarded in law and equity as negro slaves to all intents and purposes.⁶⁹

Had such a proposal been adopted, it would have served a twofold purpose. In the first place, the legislators would have directly defied Lincoln's Proclamation, showing that they had no plans whatsoever to yield to his demands. Secondly, they could have restricted the contacts between the free Negroes and slaves by making all Negroes slaves, thereby enabling the white people to control better the Negro population in the state.⁷⁰

Though the North Carolina legislature defeated the January, 1863, bill, numerous proposals for the general enslavement of free Negroes and the protection of slavery continued to be presented. On February 2, 1863, the climax in the legislative attempts to enslave free Negroes occurred. Senator John F. Murrill from Onslow County requested that a law be passed requiring that all free Negroes who had not "voluntarily sold their services for the term of ninety-nine years before January 1st, 1864, shall be removed from the State." Immediately the legislators, with disregard of sectional alignment, voted to table the measure.⁷¹

In addition to its refusals to enslave free Negroes at this time, the General Assembly also refused to enact legislation designed to strengthen the state's patrol system.⁷² Though the slaves had remained relatively peaceful, there was evidence that they were becoming restive now that freedom seemed possible. In many eastern counties free Negroes fled to the Union lines.⁷³ Near Hillsborough, three Negroes attacked and murdered John Lockhart;⁷⁴ near the Chatham County line four Negroes killed Isaac Stroud.⁷⁵ Both murders, the courts decided, stemmed from a feeling of insubordination on the part of the slaves.⁷⁶ Yet, the legislature withstood the many proposals to defend the institution of slavery and to protect the whites from insurrectionary slaves. The existing laws were regarded as adequate.

By mid-March, 1863, the idea of a war for state rights had clearly

⁶⁹ Quoted in John Hope Franklin, "The Enslavement of Free Negroes in North Carolina," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIX (October, 1944), 413.

⁷⁰ B. H. Nelson, "Some Aspects of Negro Life in North Carolina During the Civil War," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXV (April, 1948), 150-151.

⁷¹ *Senate Journal, Second Session, 1863*, 52-53.

⁷² *Senate Journal, Second Session, 1863*, 36, 43.

⁷³ *Official Records*, Series I, XVIII, 879.

⁷⁴ *Hillsborough Recorder*, February 25, 1863.

⁷⁵ *Hillsborough Recorder*, February 18, 1863.

⁷⁶ *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 18, 1863.

deteriorated into the contention that the struggle was for the defense of the institution of slavery. Leading in the development of this theme for the majority of the North Carolinians were the newspaper editors. On March 20, 1863, W. W. Holden said that "the time has come for plain English. The war was occasioned by negro slavery."⁷⁷ A few days earlier, J. L. Pennington, editor of the *Raleigh Daily Progress*, asked the question, "what is all this for?" And he gave his answer: "For the nigger." He then argued that "better a thousand times, for North and South that the last vestige of this inferior race should have been swept from the Continent than have brought on ourselves all the untold horrors of this civil war. The North is fighting to *elevate* the nigger and we are fighting to retain the nigger and defend our homes."⁷⁸

Almost simultaneously with the appearance of these editorial comments, movements for peace became stronger. Though the peace movement had its inception with the birth of the Confederacy, there was in the early months of the war little reason for great alarm.⁷⁹ As the months faded into years, as the hardships of war became more severe, as the Confederate Congress passed legislation regarded by the nonslaveholder as discriminatory, and as Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamations, disenchantment with the cause of the Confederacy increased considerably. Throughout the spring and summer of 1863, the peace forces developed into a powerful faction in the state, and as a result stronger accusations against the slaveholders followed. "Wicked men of both sections," said Pennington, "labored to bring it [the war] on to accomplish selfish purposes, and sooner or later, in some shape, they will get their reward; but with that we have nothing to do." He hastened to add, however, that slavery could not be destroyed or forced on people by war measures and for that reason attempts should be made to end this war for slavery.⁸⁰

Every honest heart throughout the land earnestly desires peace. . . . Politicians, officeholders and contractors may desire the war to continue, but ninety-nine out of every hundred of the PEOPLE wants it to stop, and it must stop, or both sections are ruined. . . . Now is no time to talk about boundary, or to declare what states we will or will not admit into the Confederate family. It will be time enough to do this after we establish the fact that we have a Government and a country. We have a

⁷⁷ *North Carolina Standard*, March 20, 1863.

⁷⁸ Quoted in *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 25, 1863.

⁷⁹ Wilfred B. Years, "The Peace Movement in the Confederate Congress," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XLI (March, 1957), 1.

⁸⁰ Quoted in *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 25, 1863.

Confederacy of all slave States, but are our people to continue this war forever for the nigger? . . . Many of our people, as well as those of the North, are tired of fighting for the negro. Let the two sections separate, and let those States that want to ally themselves to the South, come in; and leave slavery as it always should have been left, to regulate itself. Lincoln's proclamation cannot take it from a people whose interest it is to have it, nor can our laws or bayonets force it on a people who do not want it. Give us an honorable peace, and we will regulate slavery afterwards.⁸¹

Of major importance, therefore, in the development of the non-slaveholders' disaffection, in the demands for peace, and ultimately in the defeat of the Confederacy was Lincoln's emancipation policy, which provided the link enabling the southern yeomen to perceive fully that they were fighting for an institution in which they had only a peripheral interest. With the issuance of the proclamations, the slaveholders and conservative state leaders had felt that unity of sentiment would result; instead, in their efforts to point out the abolitionist sentiment of the North, they promoted the alienation of the nonslaveholder.

Congressional debates on the adoption of retaliatory measures, which resulted from Lincoln's Proclamations, also alienated groups within the state who deplored adding barbarism to the already harsh brutalities of war. Holden's argument that Congress was protecting and defending slavery severed the ties between the nonslaveholders and the slaveholders.

Progressively, therefore, as the national program for the South developed simultaneously with the northern nationalistic program, the Confederate Congress, newspaper editors, state and Confederate politicians, and planters were unintentionally building up an argument on which the nonslaveholder might base his contention that the war was fought "for the nigger"—"a rich man's war and a poor man's fight."

Hence, to the accepted reasons for the Confederacy's defeat—industrial weakness, the effects of the blockade, reverses in battle, discriminatory conscription and exemption,⁸² and state rights⁸³ must be added the internal dissension arising from the strong antislavery and anti-planter sentiments of the small southern farmer and other nonslaveholders.

⁸¹ Quoted in *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 18, 1863.

⁸² See Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1924), vii, 49, 143, 187-188, 279-280, 283, 284; Tatum, "Disloyalty," 2, 15-16, 25-26, 42, 141-142, 152-153.

⁸³ See Frank L. Owsley, *State Rights in the Confederacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), vii, 1, 3, 10, 24, 76, 150, 177-181, 203, 214, 275, 279, 280-281.

THE DANGERS OF REACTION: REPEAL OF THE REVENUE ACT OF 1918

BY H. LARRY INGLE*

"The problem is," wrote University of Chicago historian William E. Dodd early in 1918 to Chairman Claude Kitchin of the House Ways and Means Committee,

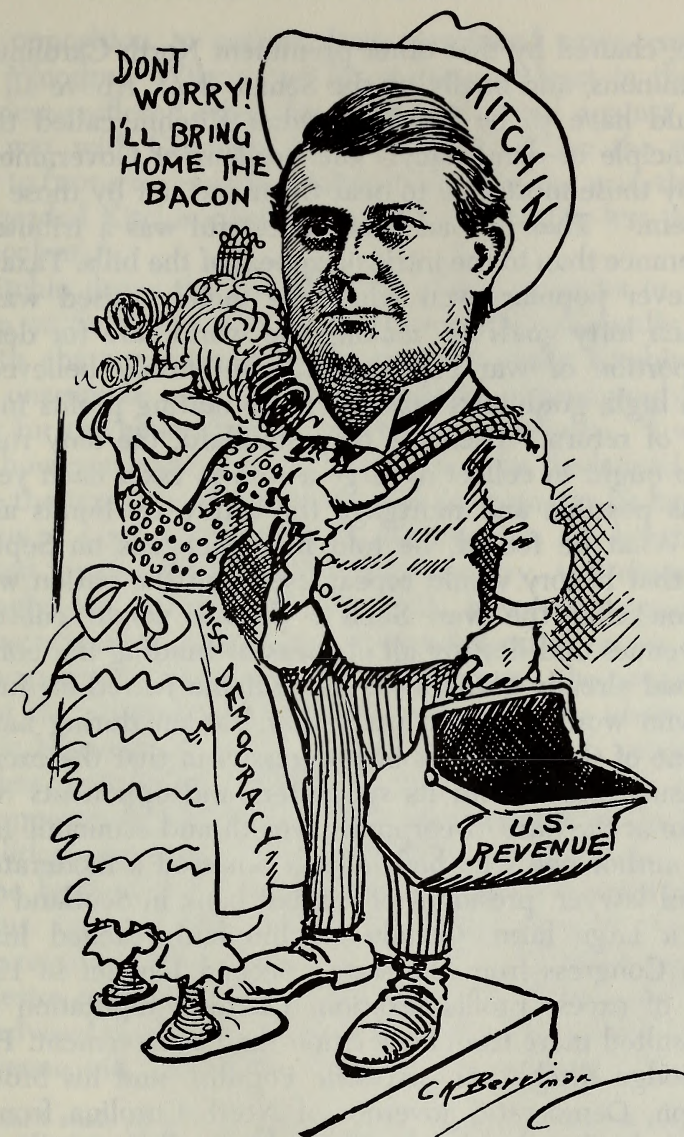
to keep the policy you people have set into motion going till real results can be obtained. You know the history of social and political reforms . . . well enough to agree with me that it is next to impossible to keep a people up to the sticking point long enough for them to see the fruits of the reforms, to realize the dangers of reaction.

Dodd also predicted that if the war should end quickly, "you will find it very hard indeed to continue your just tax system."¹

With near design, events followed the course of Dodd's prophecy. As a permanent instrument of reform the excess profits tax never really captured the popular imagination and by 1921 mere acceptance had shaded over into overt hostility. What perhaps is even more significant is that occasional progressives such as Woodrow Wilson and William G. McAdoo presented a united front with those opposing excess profits taxes—and for the same reasons. The brief life of the tax illustrated the tenuous nature of that progressivism which sought to achieve, in Dodd's words, "real results." The Kitchin revenue act of 1918, had it remained in effect, would not only have helped pay for the war, it would also have contributed to basic changes in the class structure and a redistribution of wealth. The Revenue Act of 1921, reflecting an entirely different philosophy of revenue collection, climaxed a conservative obsession to have done with attacks on business and capital by repealing the tax.

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¹ William E. Dodd to Claude Kitchin, January 28, 1918, Claude Kitchin Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, herein-after cited as Kitchin Papers. Dodd also warned that capitalists would wage a campaign to get the government to promote foreign trade—contrary to what he believed to be the best interests of the people.



A cartoon by Berryman which appeared in the *Washington Post* during Kitchin's fight to secure passage of tax measures based on the democratic principle that the burdens of government should be borne by those most able to bear them. This cartoon and the two other illustrations used with this article appeared in *Claude Kitchin and the Wilson War Policies* by Alex Mathews Arnett, and are reproduced by courtesy of Mrs. Ethel Stephens Arnett, Greensboro.

Kitchin thus had ample reason to understand what Dodd meant. He had had to work long hours framing revenue measures that would raise the money for the hungry war machine, would be economically sound, and would receive endorsement from diverse groups in the Ways and Means Committee, the House itself, the Senate Finance

Committee, chaired by that other prominent North Carolinian Furnifold M. Simmons, and finally on the Senate floor. Above all the legislation would have to be based on what Kitchin called the fundamental principle of democracy: "the burdens of Government should be borne by those most able to bear them and not by those least able to bear them."² That he had been successful was a tribute more to his perseverance than to the intrinsic appeal of the bills. Taxation, after all, was never popular even when the money raised was to help achieve such lofty goals as "making the world safe for democracy." A major portion of war expenses, Kitchin firmly believed, should come from high, graduated taxes on those netting profits in excess of a just rate of return. "Then the only standard, the only rule, is that this Nation ought to collect as large a sum in taxes each year during this war as possible and mortgage the future by bonds as little as possible." What he feared, he told his colleagues on September 6, 1918, was that history would repeat itself and the nation would face a depression after the war. Such a decline would cut deep into federal revenues and destroy all chances of funding the bonded debt Congress had already authorized. And Kitchin feared for future businessmen who would have to carry that burden during hard times.³

It was one of the anomalies of progressivism that the excess profits tax, a measure which both its supporters and opponents recognized would strike at the base of corporate wealth and economic inequality, had as its author one who had himself amassed a moderate fortune. A successful lawyer, president of a small bank in Scotland Neck and owner of a large farm, Claude Kitchin had reached his goal of election to Congress from the state's Second District in 1900. Until enactment of excess profits taxation, Kitchin's reputation as a progressive resulted more from association than achievement. His father, William Hodge Kitchin, an erstwhile Populist, and his brother, William Walton, Democratic governor of North Carolina from 1909 to 1913, had helped make the name Kitchin well known in the state. Claude had also fought numerous political battles with such progressives as Charles B. Aycock, Josephus Daniels, and Walter B. Clark. After a rather undistinguished congressional career, he came to national attention when the inexorable seniority system brought him to his post of majority leader in December, 1915. Almost immedi-

² Kitchin to Finis Garrett, August 5, 1921, Kitchin Papers.

³ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-fifth Congress, Second Session, 1917-1918 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), LVI, Appendix, 662, hereinafter cited as *Congressional Record*.

ately his opposition to preparedness produced open conflict with President Woodrow Wilson and his stature—at least in the administration's view—suffered when he spoke and voted against the declaration of war with Germany in April, 1917. When the time came, therefore, to frame revenue legislation to finance the war, the administration regarded Kitchin's leadership with something less than wholehearted acclaim.⁴

Still, Kitchin drove the bills past the House gauntlet in almost the same form as the Ways and Means Committee originally presented them. With characteristic pleas for patriotic unity Kitchin was able to secure unanimous support, albeit sometimes grudgingly from Republicans, for the general scope of revenue legislation. "I want every taxpayer, however large or small he may be," he declaimed, "to know that while the taxes levied under this bill are going to be hard to bear, the millions of boys over yonder in the trenches are bearing greater burdens and greater hardships for their country, and doing it gladly and willingly and heroically."⁵ By 1921, however, support for the wartime tax structure, particularly its controversial excess profit provisions, evaporated because of several factors: the war's end and breakup of the nonpartisan coalition, division of the always unstable Democratic bloc into warring factions, and Kitchin's oftentimes serious illness. Alert politicians understood that this situation offered an excellent opportunity to enhance their own reputations by promoting repeal. Political careers had been erected on lesser issues.

Even the birth of H.R. 12863, the last wartime revenue bill, was inauspicious. In early May, 1918, six months after the session convened, Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo, ignoring the obvious desire of Congress to adjourn by July 1 in order to hit the hustings, advised the President that military needs required passage of a new revenue bill.⁶ Although congressional leaders informed Presi-

⁴ The standard study of Kitchin is Alex M. Arnett, *Claude Kitchin and the Wilson War Policies* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937). The best account of progressivism in North Carolina is Joseph F. Steelman, "The Progressive Era in North Carolina, 1884-1917" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1955).

⁵ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-fifth Congress, Second Session, 1917-1918, LVI, Appendix, 665.

⁶ William G. McAdoo to Woodrow Wilson, May 8, 1918, William G. McAdoo Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., hereinafter cited as McAdoo Papers; *Congressional Record*, Sixty-fifth Congress, Second Session, 1917-1918, LVI, 7163. One member of the Ways and Means Committee believed that Congress should set to work on a new revenue measure. Cordell Hull advocated to his colleagues that the government's financial situation required additional revenue. His pleas went unheeded until the administration made its decision. Cordell Hull, *Memoirs* (New York: Macmillan Company, 2 volumes, 1948), I, 95, hereinafter cited as Hull, *Memoirs*.

dent Wilson and Secretary McAdoo of sentiment on the Hill and of fears that new revenue measures prior to November might contribute to Democratic reversals in the elections, the administration nevertheless recommended enactment of additional revenue legislation.⁷ Kitchin, revealing that the administration had rebuffed his earlier requests to begin consideration of new tax legislation, announced that as a good soldier following his commander he would keep his committee in Washington during the hot summer to prepare the bill. But he made no effort to hide either his pique or his belief that revenue legislation could wait until the next session.⁸

From July 18 to August 19, while the House took three-day recesses to permit all but a few members to mend their fences at home, the Ways and Means Committee worked in the sweltering humidity to prepare a bill for consideration.⁹ With one eye on the coming elections, administration leaders bitterly opposed Kitchin's plan to raise the largest amount from excess rather than war profits taxes.¹⁰ Reduced to simplest terms by the Treasury Department for Presidential Secretary Joseph P. Tumulty, the dispute resolved itself into the question of whether taxes should be levied on profits in excess of those realized prior to the war or whether they should be laid on profits in excess of a given return on capital.¹¹ "It is sufficient to say," cautioned Assistant Treasury Secretary Russell C. Leffingwell, "that the difference is not one of words but one of substance and goes to the very root of the social and economic problem."¹²

To Kitchin—and as it turned out, to a majority of Congress—the matter was not quite so simple. Any corporation making excess profits, either prior to or during the war, should pay a proportionate amount of taxes. To illustrate, under a simple war profits scheme corporations, such as Ford Motor, Eastman Kodak, National Biscuit, or American Tobacco, which had prospered before the war and continued to do so during the war, would escape taxation. During the brief but intense prewar recession, moreover, some concerns had made small profits

⁷ W. G. McAdoo to Woodrow Wilson, May 23, 1918, McAdoo Papers.

⁸ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-fifth Congress, Second Session, 1917-1918, LVI, 7163-7164; *New York Times*, May 25, 26, 28, 1918.

⁹ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-fifth Congress, Second Session, 1917-1918, LVI, 9144-9146.

¹⁰ Russell C. Leffingwell to McAdoo, July 31, 1918, J. P. Tumulty to Woodrow Wilson, August 2, 1918, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as Wilson Papers; Leffingwell to McAdoo, August 8, 1918, Russell C. Leffingwell Papers, Library of Congress.

¹¹ "Memorandum Concerning War Profits Taxes and Excess Profits Taxes," Leffingwell to Tumulty, July 31, 1918, Wilson Papers.

¹² Leffingwell to Wilson, August 2, 1918, Wilson Papers.

and would thus be penalized by a war profits levy alone. Permitting such discrimination when the nation was fighting for democracy would be manifestly unjust, the majority leader held.¹³

The final bill, not unsurprisingly, compromised the two positions. The excess profits principle for which Kitchin had so strenuously contended remained intact, but coupled with it was a war profits tax. A further provision required corporations to compute taxes by both methods and then render to the government the larger amount. The bill also provided that at the end of 1919 the war profits section would expire while the excess profits tax would continue as a permanent feature of the internal revenue code. Congress decided that normal profits were \$3,000 plus 8 percent of invested capital and permitted a corporation to deduct that amount. "For the taxable year 1919 and each taxable year thereafter," the law set the rate at 20 percent on net income up to 20 percent of invested capital and 40 percent on net income over 20 percent of invested capital. Although the House had approved additional levels of graduation and higher rates, provisions which the conference committee dropped, Kitchin was generally pleased because the final bill recognized the principle so crucial to a truly democratic tax. This progressive achievement which, in the words of administration critic Leffingwell, went "to the very root of the social and economic problem," had its ironic aspect: the bill passed only because of the exigencies of a war many progressives had originally opposed and while wartime necessities compromised many liberties valued by the selfsame progressives.¹⁴ But as a permanent feature, it would offer future progressives ample opportunity to raise the rates and achieve a far-reaching redistribution of wealth. In this potential sense the passage of the Revenue Act of 1918 was one of the most important guideposts on the progressive road to a more democratic social order.

Moreover, as Leffingwell's comment illustrated, enemies of the law knew well what the excess profits tax meant. Obviously pleased when the conclusion of the war offered an opportunity to rid the business community of what he termed a producer of "industrial stagnation," President Wilson chose the formal occasion of his 1919 State of the Union message to recommend repeal of excess profits

¹³ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-fifth Congress, Second Session, 1917-1918, LVI, Appendix, 681-683.

¹⁴ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-fifth Congress, Second Session, 1917-1918, LVI, Appendix, 681; *Congressional Record*, Sixty-fifth Congress, Third Session, 1918-1919, LVII, 3005-3007; 40 Stat. 1088, c. 18, ss. 300-320; Leffingwell to Wilson, August 2, 1918, Wilson Papers.

taxes.¹⁵ And in December, 1920, even before inauguration of Warren G. Harding, Wilson's Secretary of the Treasury David F. Houston drew the fire of progressives when he advised abolition of the excess profits levy because, he said, of its complexity and "lack of equity as among different classes of business."¹⁶ Labeling Houston's proposal "the most unwise, unjust, undemocratic, and pro-Republican report that ever emanated from any department," Kitchin relieved his pent-up frustrations at almost eight years of executive domination of Congress. He charged that it was a scheme to shift \$2 billion in taxes from "profiteering corporations" onto the very people who had endured four years of plundering.¹⁷ Kitchin took pride, he told one correspondent, in having written a bill which forced those who had profited from the war to pay for it.¹⁸ While not every Republican opposed such a levy—witness the example set by Wisconsin's James A. Frear, who three years later was still battling for such a progressive tax¹⁹—Andrew Mellon, treasury secretary during three business-oriented administrations in the 1920's, was as ardent in his opposition to excess profits levies as he was in favor of a balanced budget. And men such as Mellon determined Republican fiscal policy. Most observers were far from amazed, therefore, when the Harding administration made repeal of the excess profits tax a major priority.²⁰ With their huge majorities in the Sixty-seventh Congress, Republicans would have little trouble repealing what they regarded as an obnoxious law.

The cause of progressive taxation was also weakened by a vacuum in the front ranks of the Democratic party. On April 9, 1920, Claude Kitchin, now minority leader, suffered a stroke, the effects of which were to plague him until his death more than three years later. Though able periodically to work at his office, Kitchin's condition gave less trouble when he lounged under the trees of his Scotland Neck farm. Thus when the Democratic caucus formulated its policy on excess profits in August, 1921, Kitchin's support for the taxation policy he had written could be only inadequately conveyed through the mail.²¹ Even their leader's muted voice would have had little

¹⁵ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-sixth Congress, Second Session, 1919-1920, LIX, 53.

¹⁶ David F. Houston, *Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet* (Garden City: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 2 volumes, 1926), II, 101.

¹⁷ *New York Times*, December 10, 1920.

¹⁸ Kitchin to S. W. Worthington, June 24, 1921, Kitchin Papers.

¹⁹ C. H. England to Kitchin, August 6, 1921, Kitchin Papers; *Congressional Record*, Sixty-eighth Congress, First Session, 1923-1924, LXV, 645-648.

²⁰ John D. Hicks, *Republican Ascendancy, 1921-1933* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 53, hereinafter cited as Hicks, *Republican Ascendancy*.

²¹ Kitchin to T. L. Reilly, June 6, 1921, Kitchin to W. A. Oldfield, June 30, 1921, Kitchin Papers.



After a stroke on April 9, 1920, Kitchin conducted most of his work as minority leader of the House of Representatives from his home in Scotland Neck, pictured above.

effect on those Democrats who for their own reasons supported repeal of the excess profits tax.

In the House, meanwhile, a number of Democrats, led by Texas Representative John Nance Garner, were beginning to break with the Democratic taxation policy that had evolved during the war. Garner and Kitchin had never been on particularly good terms—for years they spoke to each other only when absolutely necessary—and “Cactus Jack,” as he was called, was embittered because Kitchin had not followed precedent and appointed him acting minority leader.²² Known as much for his prowess around the poker table as his legislative ability, Garner became the Wilson administration’s informal spokesman in the House when Kitchin opposed the war.

²² James F. Byrnes, *All in One Lifetime* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), 32-34; George Milburn, “The Statesmanship of Mr. Garner,” *Harper’s Magazine*, CLXV (November, 1932), 675, hereinafter cited as Milburn, “Statesmanship of Garner.”

Because he was ranking minority member on Ways and Means, his reversal dismayed those Democrats who had hoped that their party would present a united front to oppose Republican revenue measures. Thus Garner, "the richest man in Uvalde," raised a standard to which foes of wartime taxes could repair.²³

First tangible evidence of the growing split within the minority's ranks came when the Fordney tariff bill passed the House on July 21, 1921. Despite strong pleas from the convalescing Kitchin that "[t]o displease special interests in one's district and elsewhere is one of the penalties which every Democrat who enters Congress risks," Garner and about twenty other farmer-oriented Democrats supported tariffs on cotton and hides.²⁴ Though discouraging because of the number of Democrats willing to make common cause with Republicans, Garner's defection on the tariff was hardly surprising. He had often disregarded Democratic free-trade doctrine when the agricultural products of his southern Texas district required protection, a fact that led Tennessee's Cordell Hull to conclude that at heart his colleague on Ways and Means was as much a high tariff man as any Republican.²⁵

It was almost a month later when the Ways and Means Committee, now chaired by Michigan's Joseph W. Fordney, reported the revenue bill designed to redeem President Harding's simple and straightforward pledge: "We are committed to the repeal of the excess-profits tax. . . ."²⁶ The committee's preparation, however, was not matched by House Democrats. They simply had not decided what to do about the pending legislation. In June Kitchin expressed confidence that

²³ W. A. Oldfield to Kitchin, July 17, 1921, Kitchin to Finis Garrett, August 5, 1921, Kitchin Papers; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order*, Volume I of *The Age of Roosevelt* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company [1957—], 1957), I, 227-228; Bascom N. Timmons, *Garner of Texas: A Personal History* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), 83-84, hereinafter cited as Timmons, *Garner of Texas*; Robert S. Allen, "Texas Jack," *New Republic*, LXX (March 16, 1932), 119-121; *Washington Post*, July 6, 8, 1921. Alex M. Arnett interpreted Garner's opposition to the excess profits tax as an attempt by Garner, the "undercover promoter of reaction," to wrest House leadership from Kitchin, "leader of the liberal element." Alex M. Arnett, "Garner versus Kitchin: A Study of Craft and Statecraft," in Vera Largent (ed.), *The Walter Clinton Jackson Essays in the Social Sciences* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942), 133-145. Not only is this an oversimplification, but Kitchin's benevolent neutrality for Garner against Tennessee's Finis J. Garrett for minority leadership the following year clearly conflicts with Arnett's interpretation. See Kitchin to J. J. Egan, December 12, 1922, C. H. England to Kitchin, December 13, 1922, Kitchin Papers. Since these letters are in the Kitchin Papers, on which Arnett's paper was almost exclusively based, one wonders how he could have reached the conclusions he did.

²⁴ Kitchin to Garrett, July 29, 1921, Kitchin Papers; *Congressional Record*, Sixty-seventh Congress, First Session, 1921, LXI, 4195-4196.

²⁵ Milburn, "Statesmanship of Garner," 672; Hull, *Memoirs*, I, 133.

²⁶ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-seventh Congress, First Session, 1921, LXI, 170.

"Every Democrat is opposed to shifting the burdens of the excess profits tax from the beneficiaries [of the war] to the victims."²⁷ But Democrat William A. Oldfield, a member of Ways and Means, warned Kitchin while the revenue bill was in committee that Garner proposed to repeal the excess profits tax, concentrating instead on income, inheritance, and tobacco taxes. Kitchin's continued absence from Washington would make it more difficult, Oldfield thought, to carry the Democratic caucus against Garner.²⁸

As the process of writing the bill continued, Kitchin gave what encouragement he could to the Democrats on Ways and Means who might support his position. To Arkansas' Oldfield he threatened to take the almost unprecedented step of filing his own minority report if the Democrats were "monstrous" enough to support repeal of excess profits taxation. Voting for Garner's plan, he remonstrated, would be to side with those corporations "whose stockholders stayed at home, three thousand miles from danger, and plundered the people and Government to the extent of \$50,000,000 profits from 1916 to the present time." Repeal would permit corporations to continue profiteering during peace time. "This tax is the only conceivable check on their avarice and plunder." Had the Democrats surrendered the people's interests in the face of corporate intimidation? "If not for the sake of right and justice, for the sake of good politics we Democrats should not even have the appearance of relieving the millionaires and the corporate interests or pandering in any way to them." Republicans, concluded Kitchin, could monopolize that position.²⁹

To James W. Collier, representative from Mississippi on the Ways and Means Committee, Kitchin wrote that the government's permanent revenue should be income, inheritance, and excess profits taxes. "[Corporate] profiteering or excess profits should be taxed to pay off our war debts and for the maintenance and support of our wounded and disabled soldiers and widows and orphans of dead soldiers." You should not, the none too subtle Kitchin explained, "run your tongues out in a race with the Republicans to relieve the corporate profiteers of the country of taxation and keep the tax on the small man of \$1,000.00 to \$10,000.00 income."³⁰

Repealing corporate taxation, Kitchin coached acting minority leader Finis J. Garrett of Tennessee, would be a repudiation of

²⁷ Kitchin to C. D. Noell, June 14, 1921, Kitchin Papers.

²⁸ Oldfield to Kitchin, July 22, 1921, Kitchin Papers.

²⁹ Kitchin to Oldfield, July 23, 1921, Kitchin Papers.

³⁰ Kitchin to J. W. Collier, July 27, 1921, Kitchin Papers.

fundamental principles of the Democratic Party that taxes should be borne by those best able to bear them.³¹ On the same day (August 5) he wrote Garrett, Kitchin pleaded with Collier again: "For God's sake, don't let Democrats like you be caught in the Republican net, knotted and tied by the corporate interests and the millionaired groups of the United States."³²

When debate on the House floor began on August 17, enough Democrats had been "caught in the Republican net" so that the caucus had not formulated a policy. At a 10:00 A.M. meeting—before the full House met at eleven o'clock to consider the bill—William F. Stevenson of South Carolina proposed that Democrats vote against H.R. 8245 because it favored "great wealth to the detriment of the citizens of ordinary means" and because the caucus opposed "*at this time*" repealing excess profits taxes.³³ Having already received commitments for his position, Garner opposed even this mild statement and the caucus deadlocked. Since neither side pressed for a showdown, the meeting recessed until evening, and members hurried off to participate in the opening debate with no party policy to guide them.³⁴

Garner, as the ranking minority member of Ways and Means present, led those opposing H.R. 8245, but his arguments testified to his inability to speak for anyone other than himself on specific details. There should be, he averred, five permanent sources of revenue: inheritance taxes, personal and corporate income taxes, tariff duties, tobacco levies, and postal receipts. "If you can get the money to run the Government with these taxes," he asked his colleagues, "why do you not repeal the other taxes in the war revenue act of 1918?" To Democratic applause he announced that if he had his way, excess profits taxes would be the last to go. Almost in the next breath, however, he elicited accolades from opponents of excess profits taxation by proclaiming that those taxes could be repealed within one year.³⁵

When the Democratic caucus reassembled at eight o'clock, Stevenson obtained the floor to withdraw his anti-repeal resolution. Then Finis Garrett sought to unite the Democrats by moving that H.R. 8245 subverted sound principles of taxation in that it freed profiteers and the wealthy of their just tax burdens. With a rare burst of

³¹ Kitchin to Garrett, August 5, 1921, Kitchin Papers.

³² Kitchin to Collier, August 5, 1921, Kitchin Papers.

³³ "Minutes of Caucus, August 17, 1921," copy in Kitchin Papers.

³⁴ Oldfield to Kitchin, August 17, 1921, Kitchin Papers.

³⁵ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-seventh Congress, First Session, 1921, LXI, 5133.

unanimity, the caucus bound its members to vote against the bill and instructed its leaders to offer a motion recommitting the bill to Ways and Means in accord with the Garrett statement. Oldfield immediately proposed that the recommitment motion include a provision to delete excess profits repeal and the Republican-sponsored substitute, corporate surtaxes. To regain control of the proceedings, Garner moved to challenge only the surtaxes. The debate raged. Garner won a number of votes by warning that the caucus should not disdain objections of such eminent Democrats as McAdoo, Hous-



Claude Kitchin was elected as a representative to the Fifty-seventh Congress and served in the House of Representatives from March 4, 1901, until his death on May 31, 1923. He is buried in the Baptist Cemetery, Scotland Neck.

ton, and Simmons. Oldfield, leading those opposing excess profits repeal, proved a poor organizer, and Peter Ten Eyck of New York had difficulty reading a long, unpunctuated telegram from Kitchin. After two or three other members made perfunctory admonitions that to adopt Garner's motion would be to repudiate Kitchin's leadership, the substitute passed 56 to 23; the House Democrats had retreated from their wartime progressive position.³⁶ Gone was their opportunity to press for a real option by endorsing a truly progressive tax; instead debate now would be over details—all within the context of a business-oriented tax measure.

Kitchin, naturally angered by the caucus action, threatened to arouse various farm organizations to fight those Democrats who approved repeal. Now the leader of a minority within a minority, he was convinced that Garner was maneuvering him into a position of being the only Democrat on Ways and Means who advocated excess profits taxation.³⁷

When debate resumed on the House floor, strongest adherence to Kitchin's progressive program came from Wisconsin representative John M. Nelson, who as a Republican took his party to task for sponsoring such reactionary legislation. "As equalizers what a wonderful pair of levers are the excess profits and income taxes that the war placed in the hands of the American people," he exclaimed. "By adjusting these levers we could solve not only the evils of war profits, of inflation, but also of monopolies and trusts." Like Kitchin, this long-time friend and supporter of progressive Senator Robert M. LaFollette predicted that those who voted for repeal would be defeated at the polls; the people would not permit democracy to perish between the twin millstones of plutocracy and socialism. Like Kitchin, too, he acknowledged defeat on the issue, but pleaded that congressmen take the right position and appeal to the country for vindication.³⁸ Unfortunately, no Democrat supported Nelson's cogent arguments, although some did deliver speeches designed more to impress the folks back home with Democratic righteousness than to influence the debate's outcome.³⁹

On the following day, August 19, Kitchin's "Minority Views" were printed and distributed to congressmen. Unique in that Kitchin was

³⁶ "Minutes of Caucus, August 17, 1921," England to Kitchin, August 18, 1921, Oldfield to Kitchin, August 20, 1921, Kitchin to Garrett, August 16, 1921, Kitchin Papers.

³⁷ Kitchin to Billy [Oldfield], August 18, 1921, Kitchin Papers.

³⁸ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-seventh Congress, First Session, 1921, LXI, 5193; Belle C. LaFollette and Fola LaFollette, *Robert M. LaFollette* (New York: Macmillan Company, 2 volumes, 1953), I, 124, 454, II, 1164.

³⁹ See for example Congressman Percy E. Quin's address, *Congressional Record*, Sixty-seventh Congress, First Session, 1921, LXI, 5196.

the only minority member of Ways and Means to sign the report, the statement was at once a skillful political assault on the Republican bill and a call for Democrats to oppose every section of it, especially repeal of excess profits rates. The former chairman of the tax-writing committee contrasted the secrecy surrounding preparation of the bill with what he termed his "cooperative openness" when Democrats were in a majority during the Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth congresses. In stressing that the committee had always reported revenue bills unanimously, Kitchin ignored the fact that bills written under his guidance were designed to finance government expenditures in a time of national crisis. No doubt he hoped that casual readers would see the enormity of the action of the current committee.

The major portion of the minority report, however, concerned more substantive issues. And it was here that Kitchin used to advantage his political insights gained from twenty years of congressional service. He also revealed his understanding of progressivism and what element composed that reform ideology. His attack on excess profits repeal had two prongs: a broad appeal to congressmen devoted to small business interests and, not unrelated to the first, specific assaults on large "rapacious corporations." For small corporations, making not over 8 or 10 percent profit, he cautioned that substitution of a flat 12½ percent surtax for the excess profits levy would increase taxes as much as 50 percent, while it would reduce by the same amount the contributions from larger concerns netting 20, 30, or 50 percent. There were, he alleged, some 180 corporations such as United States and Bethlehem Steel, the Du Pont companies, and various Standard Oil companies for which Republicans had designed the present revenue measure; the tax windfall would benefit them, not small, weaker corporations.

To those for whom principles of economic justice had no appeal, Kitchin had another argument. "Let every Democrat and Republican bear in mind always that these *same corporations were filling their coffers with their fabulous billions, for the profits of their stockholders, while our brave boys in France were spilling their blood for the protections and defense of their country.*" Their officers, directors, and stockholders never "*faced a German gun, braved a danger, took a risk, made a sacrifice, or endured a suffering.*" How could anyone, asked this outraged Democrat, consent to relieve such profiteering corporations of millions in taxes? If the Democrats denied the creed that taxes should be levied according to ability to pay, all that re-

mained was the Republican principle of forcing the small and weak to bear most of the taxes.⁴⁰

These sentiments brought to a head the contending forces within the Democratic minority. Oldfield, Peter F. Tague of Massachusetts, and John F. Carew of New York wanted to join Kitchin in signing the report, but in an angry scene in the minority leader's office, Garner warned that if they spurned his leadership he would issue a separate report and reveal just how divided the party was. With his face "all colors of the rainbow," according to Kitchin's secretary, Garner condemned the absent Kitchin for being unfair toward him because of his vote for the emergency tariff bill.⁴¹ Just before he rushed out, slamming the door behind him, Garner indicated that he would allow the report to stand as "Minority Views"; that was all he felt could be expected of him. Taking up where the Texan left off, Charles R. Crisp of Georgia insisted that Kitchin had no right to dictate while he was ill at home in Scotland Neck. James Collier, who had earlier appeared to be on Kitchin's side, agreed with Garner and Crisp, and Carew vacillated with the avowal that he would not sign so long as those parts critical of Democrats remained.

Kitchin's secretary, Charles H. England, hurried out to find Oldfield who hastened back cursing that he would sign the report just as it was written. Garner then returned with acting minority leader Finis Garrett in tow. Garrett questioned whether the Democrats should let the public know that they were so divided and then went on to attack Kitchin for being a disorganizer rather than a leader. To counter such allegations, England said he was certain that Kitchin had written the report in the hope that all would sign, but that he would probably not oppose any unifying changes so long as his basic position on excess profits taxation remained uncompromised. Garrett moderated, reasoning that with no signatures the report might appear to be the views of all those in the minority. Although Kitchin would probably have preferred otherwise, all—including the still unpacified Oldfield—concurred in submitting the report under the minority leader's name alone.⁴² While internal differences may have been submerged by the strategy adopted, debate in the House revealed

⁴⁰ *House Report 150, Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921), Sixty-seventh Congress, First Session, 1921, 1-12.

⁴¹ On April 12 Garner and thirteen other farmer-oriented Democrats had let it be known that they would ignore the decision of their caucus and support the emergency tariff bill, an ill-conceived effort to raise farm prices by placing a duty on agricultural commodities. *New York Times*, April 14, 1921.

⁴² Oldfield to Kitchin, August 20, 1921, England to Kitchin, August 23, 1921, Kitchin Papers.

that no one was fooled. It was quite evident, moreover, that those who had envisioned the excess profits tax as a permanent feature of the revenue code were no longer in control.

When the House met the day following submission of the much-debated report, the chaplain with near-divine perception intoned thanks that "light has shone upon the darkened earth."⁴³ As debate continued, Garner announced that he planned a recommittal motion to strike out corporate surtaxes. With mock surprise, Nicholas Longworth, Republican House leader, asked why the Democrats did not move to strike excess profits repeal as their minority views proposed. The Democrats laughed and applauded when Garner retorted, "Oh, the gentleman would like to stir up friction among the Democrats, but he will have a devil of a hard time doing it."⁴⁴

As he spoke of giving Republicans an opportunity to face voters with a record of opposing high corporation taxes, Garner demonstrated that Democrats were now concerned only with details—whether surtaxes should be high or low—and not essentials—whether there should be a progressive excess profits levy. And in his good-humored bantering of the Democrats for permitting a "sick man" to determine minority policy, Longworth placed his finger squarely on Garner's strategy. Garner's followers believed, the Ohio Republican concluded, "that by limiting [the recommittal motion] to one proposition out of what they describe as a vicious, monstrous program, they may be able to induce some of the brethren on the Republican side to vote to sustain the Democratic report."⁴⁵ Although some progressive Republicans like James A. Frear protested that they would like to go on record for retention of an excess profits levy,⁴⁶ the recommittal motion received 48 Republican votes as it was defeated 230 to 169. The bill itself then passed 274 to 125 with almost all opposition coming from the Democrats.⁴⁷

Excess profits taxes were now dead. Passage of the Revenue Act of 1921 began more than a decade of whittling away what progressivism remained in the tax structure.⁴⁸ In 1935 Congress passed a revenue bill which restored an excess profits levy; significantly, however, the

⁴³ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-seventh Congress, First Session, 1921, LXI, 5337.

⁴⁴ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-seventh Congress, First Session, 1921, LXI, 5343. The claim of Bascom N. Timmons that Garner's fight against the tax bill won Kitchin's admiration simply cannot be substantiated by the evidence. See Timmons, *Garner of Texas*, 99.

⁴⁵ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-seventh Congress, First Session, 1921, LXI, 5344-5345.

⁴⁶ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-seventh Congress, First Session, 1921, LXI, 5346.

⁴⁷ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-seventh Congress, First Session, 1921, LXI, 5358-5359.

⁴⁸ Hicks, *Republican Ascendancy*, 106, 235.

new rates were much lower than those the little band of progressives had battled so hard to perpetuate in 1921.⁴⁹ Even more important was the fact that the 1921 defeat of excess profits taxes signaled the end of any meaningful progressivism; the war-spawned revenue measure was, after all, one of the very few measures passed during the era from 1901 to 1920 which anticipated the creation of a social and economic democracy, which did not retreat from the possibility of fundamental changes in the nation's social structure.

In 1959 Arthur S. Link asked, "What happened to the progressive movement in the 1920's?"⁵⁰ Insofar as the excess profits tax was involved, a desire to return to normalcy, the inability of a leading progressive to exert forceful leadership because of personal illness, breakup of the wartime coalition, and political catering to business thinking all played a significant role in the demise of progressivism. While the greatly outnumbered Democrats could not have stopped the retreat, their leaders saw no obligation to prevent a rout or to build a progressive record to present to the people; instead they accepted the traditional conservative arguments that progressive taxation would destroy business enterprise and initiative.

⁴⁹ The rates were only 6 percent on profits from 10 percent to 15 percent of invested capital and 12 percent on profits over 15 percent of invested capital. 49 Stat. 1019, c. 829, s. 106.

⁵⁰ Arthur S. Link, "What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920's?," *American Historical Review*, LXIV (July, 1959), 833-851.

BOOK REVIEWS

The John Gray Blount Papers, Volume III, 1796-1802. Edited by William Henry Masterson. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1965. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xxviii, 621. \$5.00.)

Five hundred documents for five dollars! That is a quantitative statement of the bargain that is offered in this informative, useful book. Its value is multiplied many times, however, when qualitative factors are considered.

For one, the texts of the documents are genuine—about as literally and faithfully so as it is possible to achieve in converting manuscripts into print. For another, the documents are almost uniquely significant. They deal primarily with such economic developments as widespread commerce and interstate land speculation during seven war-troubled years—unsettled years of political change and of international conflict during which Washington, D.C., was less a financial capital than was Washington, N.C., the center of John Gray Blount's far-flung ventures.

Moreover, this correspondence includes both the outgoing and the incoming mail of John Gray Blount and of others in his family. The scores of writers make occasional comments about politics and other matters. But profits and losses are their theme. Rarely does a documentary publication record so sensitively fluctuations in the pulses of so many businessmen and, indeed, of a nation of entrepreneurs. And rare is it that a governmental agency issues so welcome a record of individual aspirations and failures in free enterprise. The result is not of merely local relevance; it is of national importance. Within these pages parade New Englanders such as Oliver Wolcott, Pennsylvanians such as Judge James Wilson and financier Robert Morris, westerners such as Hugh Lawson White and Andrew Jackson, and North Carolinians by the scores. Hundreds of these individuals, even among the most obscure of them, have been identified editorially, often on the basis of manuscript records.

Despite his distant residence, in Texas, Dr. Masterson was the perfect choice to succeed Dr. Alice Barnwell Keith as the editor and to "screen" before publication the excellent product of staff labors

in Raleigh. Continuation of the series, many will join in hoping fervently, will receive high priority among the many worthy projects of the publishing department.

W. Edwin Hemphill

South Carolina Archives Department

North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865: A Roster. Volume 1, Artillery. Compiled by Louis H. Manarin. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1966. Frontispiece, maps, preface, introduction, index. Pp. xvii, 691. \$12.00.)

Recognizing the long-known fact that John W. Moore's *Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War Between the States* (4 volumes, Raleigh, 1882) contained numerous errors of omission, spelling, and factual information, the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission adopted as its most ambitious project the preparation and publication of a new roster. Louis H. Manarin, an experienced researcher into Civil War records, was chosen as the compiler of the new roster, and space and facilities for his editorial staff were secured in the National Archives, thus affording easy access to the War Department Collection of Confederate Records (Record Group 109), especially the Compiled Military Service Records which provide the principal source of information on individual North Carolinians who served in the Confederate forces.

Volume 1, *Artillery*, contains unit histories and rosters for the three regiments (10th, 36th, and 40th), four battalions (1st, 3rd, 10th, and 13th), and Captain Abner A. Moseley's Company (Sampson Artillery), totaling the fifty-four companies of artillery that North Carolina supplied to the Confederate States Army. The unit histories are brief but succinct and furnish information as to the date and place of each unit's mustering into service, the principal areas in which it operated and the actions in which it was engaged, changes that occurred in its name or numerical designation, and the date and place of its final surrender or disbandment. The individual service records, which follow in each instance immediately after the unit's history, contain the date and place of enlistment, the time period over which the man was "present or accounted for," and the last documented date pertaining to his service. The editing is well done and represents a great improvement over all previous efforts to list and identify North Carolina's Confederate soldiers.

Upon the termination of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission in 1965, the roster project was transferred to the State Department of Archives and History which aspires to complete a twelve-volume series covering all phases of Civil War service by North Carolinians. Future volumes will be dependent upon continued legislative support, which the excellence of this one should be an important aid in securing.

James W. Patton

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Carpetbagger's Crusade: The Life of Albion Winegar Tourgée. By Otto H. Olsen. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965. Frontispiece, preface, introduction, illustrations, critical bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 395. \$7.95.)

Albion W. Tourgée was born in Williamsfield, Ohio, of New England parents in 1838 and died in 1905. He was educated at the University of Rochester and taught school for a short time. He grew up in a milieu of humanitarian reform but, as a young man, remained aloof from much of the contemporary ferment, noticeably the slavery dispute. A short career in the Civil War brought a startling change in Tourgée's attitude and he soon became a militant advocate of reform. Tourgée removed to North Carolina in 1865 and for fourteen years he carried on a crusade for civil rights, political equality of the races, free public education, and penal reform in the state. Self-righteous and opinionated, he demanded that the whites accept their former slaves as fellow citizens and looked upon anyone who opposed his views as an enemy. Tourgée made significant contributions to the state as a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1868 and of the commission which prepared a code of laws and a code of civil procedure. Bitterly resented at first, the reforms were gradually accepted by the courts and the people. A modern authority has characterized the code of civil procedure as "the most sweeping legislative contribution in the nineteenth century to the law of private relations." Tourgée's public career also included membership in the Constitutional Convention of 1875 and a term on the state Supreme Court bench.

As the Republican program of reconstruction collapsed, Tourgée took up his pen in support of the cause. Among his numerous books three were of special significance. *Toinette: A Tale of the South*

depicted the evils of the slave regime by calling attention to miscegenation. Favorably received generally in the North it was condemned in the state on the ground that its purpose was "To POPULARIZE INTER-MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE RACES." *A Fool's Errand By One of the Fools*, largely a biographical account of Tourgée's role in Reconstruction, was highly influential on northern public opinion and a best seller. *Bricks Without Straw* was a story of the dilemma faced by the former slaves as they sought education and economic stability in the midst of race prejudice. Tourgée organized a publishing company which was at first financially successful but later failed. He edited *Our Continent* and contributed widely to other periodicals and newspapers.

In 1891 Tourgée turned once again to his crusade for civil rights and took the lead in organizing the National Civil Rights Association. In the same year he was appointed to direct a legal attack upon the Louisiana railroad segregation law. In 1896 he filed a brief before the United States Supreme Court in which he maintained that the Louisiana law denied "equal protection of the law to all classes of citizens" and "deprives citizens of liberty and immunity without due process of the law." The court denied the plea and upheld the state law. But fifty-eight years later the Supreme Court reversed the doctrine in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, and Tourgée the Fool had won his case.

This is an interesting, informative, and satisfying biography of a controversial figure in North Carolina and a significant one in the Reconstruction era of United States history. It is based upon extensive research in a wide range of sources, many of which were heretofore unused. The author is a sympathetic and ardent champion of Tourgée and yet recognizes the faults and weaknesses of the man. The book is well balanced and an important contribution to the understanding of the Reconstruction period.

Fletcher M. Green

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Preachers, Pedagogues & Politicians: The Evolution Controversy in North Carolina, 1920-1927. By Willard B. Gatewood, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. Preface, epilogue, appendixes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 268. \$5.95.)

The publication in 1966 of two scholarly works on the intellectual climate of North Carolina in the 1920's adds immeasurably to an

understanding and appreciation of that period. Willard B. Gatewood's brilliant analysis of the antievolution controversy has recently been supplemented by Suzanne Cameron Linder's perceptive and moving biography of William Louis Poteat. With patience and thoroughgoing mastery of detail, Gatewood demonstrates that the campaign to outlaw the teaching of the Darwinian hypothesis was the result of a congeries of forces that had alienated, disoriented, and confused the people. They readily fell prey to revivalists, religious zealots, anti-intellectuals, demagogues, and cranks who exploited the profound sense of disillusionment that followed the First World War. The author makes every effort to present objectively the patent nonsense and irrationality that became the stock-in-trade of the antievolution crusade.

It is disconcerting, however, to find that Presbyterians, who were presumably educated and fairly substantial, were in the vanguard of the movement to outlaw freedom of inquiry. The editorial campaign against the theory of evolution was led by the *Charlotte Observer*, which served an urban, industrial, and basically conservative constituency. Interestingly, a larger vote against the outlawry of Darwinism in the public schools and in support of academic freedom came from rural and agricultural counties of the Coastal Plain than from counties of the Piedmont and the Mountain regions. The reader is left with a nagging impression that the agitation of public opinion on this issue was powerfully influenced by economic considerations. The spellbinding revivalists lost interest when the crusade ceased to be lucrative.

There would be little point to a lengthy and detailed description of the antics of the antievolutionists. This study achieves stature as a pioneering work, however, in its description of the mobilization of forces to defend freedom of speech, thought, and inquiry. It may well be that the legacy of this struggle will be instructive to the student of history long after the superficial giddiness of the decade has been forgotten. What is impressive about the fight for intellectual freedom in the 1920's is the caliber of leaders who successfully defied the powerful forces that were operating upon public opinion. William Louis Poteat of Wake Forest College and Harry W. Chase of the University of North Carolina were the two most influential spokesmen in rebutting the antievolution strategy. But a host of their followers deserve mention for their contributions in defeating the antievolution bills of David Scott Poole in 1925 and 1927. Among the most prominent were the editorial staff of the *Greensboro Daily News*, William

O. Saunders of the Elizabeth City *Independent*, Howard W. Odum, Frank P. Graham, Walter Murphy, Henry Groves Connor, Jr., Edgar D. Broadhurst, Nell Battle Lewis, Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Albert S. Keister, Charles W. Tillett, Jr., Richard T. Vann, and Zeno P. Metcalf.

It is surprising that college faculties were not more outspoken in their defense of freedom of inquiry; but the silence of the state superintendent of public instruction and the decision of the North Carolina Education Association to ignore the issue altogether suggest an even more disappointing apathy and indifference toward academic freedom. Proponents of an antievolution law ultimately defeated their own purpose by use of bitter, vindictive, and extreme tactics. A comparison will inevitably be drawn between the evolution controversy of the 1920's and the speaker ban law furore of the 1960's. The value of Gatewood's study is that it illuminates the persistence of anti-intellectualism and irrationality and explores the shadowy realms of reaction and despair. As a result of this work developments of recent years can be seen in a clearer historical focus.

Joseph F. Steelman

East Carolina College

William Louis Poteat: Prophet of Progress. By Suzanne Cameron Linder.

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. Foreword, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xviii, 224. \$5.00.)

William Louis Poteat was an enthusiastic apostle of progress whose career was a prolonged struggle in behalf of freedom of the human mind. The survival of such a man in the academic atmosphere of the South was in itself a remarkable feat. That he became in his own lifetime the honored son of the region's largest evangelical denomination was truly extraordinary. The fact that Poteat served both as president of the North Carolina Academy of Science and the Baptist State Convention was evidence that he was no ordinary individual. Those awed by his diverse talents and impressive triumphs in the cause of enlightenment grasped the import of H. L. Mencken's description of him as "the liaison officer between Baptist revelation and human progress."

Although Poteat's career formed an inextricable part of the history of Baptist-related Wake Forest College, this book by Suzanne Linder is more than a mere biography of a biology professor and college

president. It is a perceptive portrait of a southerner with a deep sense of human and spiritual values who utilized his broad learning, persuasive eloquence, and boundless energy to "pick a little path of light in the surrounding darkness" of his native region. In an era when southerners generally defined progress in terms of shirt factories and hosiery mills Poteat dedicated himself to progress of another variety—the improvement of man's intellectual and social condition. From the laboratory as well as the pulpit—and he was at home in both—he waged a relentless battle against ignorance, prejudice, provincialism, and their varied offspring. Significantly, one of his earliest public addresses was a thoughtful inquiry into the relationship between science and religion, and his last was a bold assertion of the Christian's responsibility in race relations.

This well-balanced study of Poteat's life begins with an illuminating account of his formative years in Caswell County. The Civil War destroyed the comfortable society of the slaveholding aristocracy into which he was born and left his family in radically reduced circumstances. Nevertheless, in 1872, Poteat managed to enter Wake Forest College where he was to remain for the rest of his life as student, professor, and president, successively. Among the more notable of his numerous contributions to the institution was the introduction of the laboratory method of teaching science, a distinction which few colleges in the South could claim at the time. The record of his academic activities is complemented by a careful analysis of his intellectual maturity. Not satisfied merely to place the stamp of enlightenment upon the hundreds of young Baptists who came under his influence in the academic cloister, Poteat actively participated in a variety of reform movements which he viewed as means of achieving God's purpose in the redemption of society. Toward this end he labored tirelessly in behalf of child labor legislation, temperance, better schools, mental health facilities, lower freight rates, and more harmonious race relations.

Quite appropriately, Mrs. Linder has devoted a considerable portion of this volume to Poteat's role in the controversy over evolution which climaxed in a dramatic struggle during the 1920's. At no other juncture in his career was so much at stake, including his own reputation and the financial status of the college. Noisy threats by his Baptist brethren failed to budge him in his unequivocal defense of academic freedom. He consistently maintained that his teaching of evolution for forty years had neither discredited the Bible in the eyes of students nor lessened his personal commitment to the Christ-

ian faith. That the Wake Forest alumni rallied so overwhelmingly to the support of his stand in behalf of intellectual spaciousness offered abundant testimony to the success of his efforts in the cause of culture and enlightenment. Poteat's ultimate triumph in the Baptist struggle over evolution was an event of far-reaching consequence for the intellectual and religious life of the entire South as well as North Carolina.

This volume is impressive in every respect, from format and design to prose and documentation. Suzanne Linder has produced an excellent biography of an extraordinary man and, in the process, has added a significant chapter to the cultural and intellectual history of the New South.

Willard B. Gatewood

University of Georgia

Legends of the Outer Banks and Tar Heel Tidewater. By Charles Harry Whedbee. (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 1966. Foreword, illustrations. Pp. x, 165. \$3.75.)

A Charlotte book reviewer recently commented on the penchant North Carolinians have for writing about themselves and their state. They never seem to tire of it, she observed. She was right, of course, and this book is evidence of the truth of her statement. Among these eighteen stories by Judge Whedbee (he is judge of the municipal court in Greenville and has a television program) are those oft-told yarns about Virginia Dare's transformation into a white deer, about Blackbeard and Theodosia Burr, about the ghost ship "Carroll M. Deering," about the devil's hoofprints at Bath (Judge Whedbee saw them recently), and the floating church at Swan Quarter. They are all good stories, and he tells them well, adding fresh touches.

There are less familiar legends: the naming of Jockey's Ridge from races held there with banker ponies, the settlement of the "lost colonists" at Milltail Creek on the Dare County mainland, the blasphemous fisherman "Old Quork" of Ocracoke, the Seven Sisters sandhills at Nags Head, the drowning of Ocracoke's Jim Baum of Gaskill, the church door which came up on the beach for St. Andrews-by-the-Sea, Amy Harris' floating coffin at Duck, and the albino porpoise, Hatteras Jack, guiding ships past the reefs and shoals.

Only three of the eighteen stories are set in the spreading coastal

region below Ocracoke, two of them concerning the "boozhyot" at Cape Lookout in rum-running days, the third about the medicinal waters of Shallotte Inlet. For this reason Judge Whedbee's book can be criticized for its lack of scope and its misleading title. In practical usage, the Outer Banks terminate south of Portsmouth, and Cape Lookout and Shallotte are not on or near them, though Judge Whedbee says they are. Too, if he is going to include the entire coastal region, his proportion is awry. Even this Piedmont reviewer can think offhand of dozens of stories from southeastern North Carolina which would have added interest to the book. If pirate Blackbeard at Ocracoke, why not pirate Stede Bonnet at Topsail Inlet? Where are the stories of the lower Cape Fear: the Dram Tree, the spy Rose O'Neill Greenhow of Confederate times, and so on and on? Doubtless the Beaufort area can provide enough legendary material for a book all to itself. Judge Whedbee's stories are so good that it is pleasant to think what might have happened if he had done a bit more exploring southward from his customary environs.

Richard Walser

North Carolina State University

The Catawba Indians: The People of the River. By Douglas Summers Brown. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1966. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. viii, 400. \$10.00.)

Douglas Summers Brown (Mrs. H. Dockery Brown) follows the destiny of the Catawba Indians of South Carolina from the time when Spanish, French, and English explorers and colonists entered their lives to that moment when an aroused Catawba remnant reasserted its independence by rejecting a continuing wardship and launched itself into the stream of American life. This narrative covers four centuries, from approximately 1560 to 1962. Mrs. Brown has supported her account with copious extracts from historical and archival sources and has uncovered some new materials in the Lyman Draper Papers at the University of Wisconsin and in the narrative of Thomas (Kanawha) Spratt. The latter settled among the Catawba as the French and Indian War drew to a close.

Those seeking descriptions of Catawba life and custom will not find the work useful, for the thrust of Mrs. Brown's approach stresses important personalities (Indian and non-Indian) who influenced the

Siouan-speaking Catawba and participated in the transformation of their homeland and in their political situation. The narrative approach which Mrs. Brown has elected to follow naturally places limitations on what she is able to convey to the reader. Some will miss the stimulus of a broad canvas of interpretation as sketched by Verner W. Crane in *The Southern Frontier* and Chapman James Milling in *Red Carolinians*.

Mrs. Brown's detailed narrative does not divide Catawba history into a clear set of periods; rather, she describes matters topically within special time spans: Catawba-settler relations, Catawba defense against the intrusion of northern Indians, the firming of Catawba loyalties during the French and Indian War, the constancy of Catawba loyalty to South Carolina during the Revolutionary War, the time of decline during the early nineteenth century, the Catawba dispersion following the last treaty with South Carolina in 1840, the gradual reconstitution of the Catawba as a political-tribal entity during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and finally, the political dissolution that followed congressional legislation in 1959 by Catawba request.

The disadvantage of any political history, of course, is the narrow context of interpretation. In this instance the reader remains wholly unaware of transformations in Catawba economy, daily habits, family relations, knowledge, religious beliefs, ceremonialism, and customary ways that accompanied basic alterations in the Catawba political situation. Missing is the context which gave purpose, meaning, and distinction to the Catawba as a people—their culture. The gradual erosion of the Catawba culture base undoubtedly hastened the parasitic inclination and encouraged the apathy and spontaneous alcoholism by which a shattered Catawba character revealed itself. The acceptance of the Mormon faith by the Catawba—almost to a man—is one of two important culture-events touched upon by Mrs. Brown. The action aligns the Catawba with other Indian groups who have succeeded in stabilizing their accommodation to the bewildering complexities and fast-moving impact of American culture by means of a native or Christian-based worship. Catawba rejection of continuing federal and state wardship gives the other signal culture-event. Both hint at important acculturative forces at work which only the personal narratives of the Catawba could highlight. Mrs. Brown supplies some firsthand information on these items, but with three-quarters of her work devoted to documented history, there is only space for two short chapters on what has been happening recently to the Catawba.

Mrs. Brown has written an informative work that should prove useful to those interested in the ethnohistory of the Southeast. The selection of maps focuses on the period of exploration and colonization.

Fred W. Voget

Southern Illinois University

The Reconstruction of Georgia. By Alan Conway. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966. Notes, index. Pp. v, 248. \$6.50.)

Professor Alan Conway, senior lecturer in American history at University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, has written a readable and moderate revisionist history of Reconstruction in Georgia. In his opinion the invective heaped upon "Radical Reconstruction" by Georgia historians has been "excessive, irrational, and unjustified."

The Republicans never had a sufficient majority in the legislature to be confident of maintaining themselves in power. In the first Reconstruction legislature the senate was almost evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats, and the former enjoyed only a bare majority in the House. Radical Republican rule, always weak in Georgia, was ended by 1871.

Georgia did not suffer from grinding oppression and ignorant Negro domination. Nevertheless, whites in the state responded with violence and the Ku Klux Klan to keep Negroes in their "place" and to intimidate white Republicans. The terroristic activities of the Klan were apparently approved by a majority of whites. As Conway says, prominent Georgians denied the existence of such an organization in the state "with one hand on their hearts and the other upon their white sheets. . . ."

Though undoubtedly there was some corruption during Reconstruction, Conway finds that it has been exaggerated. It was peculiar neither to Reconstruction nor Republicans. Indeed even during Radical rule Georgia Democrats seemed to have a conspicuous place at the public trough.

Conway's book does much to update the interpretations of C. Mildred Thompson's *Reconstruction in Georgia* (1915), but it by no means completely replaces Miss Thompson's research. One wishes he had treated more thoroughly the social changes of Reconstruction and the problems encountered by the recently emancipated slaves.

Joe M. Richardson

Florida State University

The Overseer: Plantation Management in the Old South. By William Kauffman Scarborough. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, tables, index. Pp. xv, 256. \$7.50.)

Another segment of population in the antebellum South is brought into clear focus as a result of Professor Scarborough's painstaking portrayal of *The Overseer*. In the quarter century since Frank Owsley and the group at Vanderbilt began the use of manuscript census records to build reliable class portraits from the segments of the various schedules, meticulous scholars have effectively used this material as a basis for more reliable pictures of the Old South. In addition, this author has had a goodly supply of plantation records, diaries, and family papers to add color and richness to statistical evidence. It has all been presented in a scholarly manner, but anyone interested in class structure will find this material worthwhile reading.

The lot of an overseer was not an easy one. Although held in more esteem than the slave trader, he was generally rejected socially. He was caught between the desires of a plantation owner to produce a good crop and the limitations—either physical or humanitarian—of the slaves who had to do the work. If there was a steward between the owner and the overseer or a recalcitrant “driver” between him and the slaves, his task was yet more difficult.

In general, the more competent overseers were to be found on the large rice and sugar plantations of the South Carolina and Georgia coasts and in Louisiana. On these rich tracts the overseers might earn from \$1,000 to \$2,000 a year plus living. Although in the older plantation areas of Virginia and North Carolina the annual pay ranged from only \$300 to \$500 cash, the stability of the owners attracted and kept good overseers. It was in the tobacco and cotton lands opening up farther west where proprietors were attempting to make big money fast that the worst overseers were found. They were younger men, often incompetent, always poorly paid, moving annually from plantation to plantation, mourned neither by owner nor slave, and described unfavorably by most people who traveled through the area.

In an interesting chapter on “The Overseer Elite,” Mr. Scarborough gives some specific accounts of men who were eminently successful in their chosen profession. Some contributed to the agricultural reforms of the period; a few perfected inventions in farming implements; an even larger number so improved their status as to become stewards, yeomen farmers, or even small plantation owners.

In between the worst and the best were hundreds of overseers who did the best job they could under the circumstances. When one reads the numerous requests of plantation owners to Confederate authorities to excuse their overseers from military service, it is clear that they were indispensable men in the plantation system.

Blanche Henry Clark Weaver

Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Ones at Home: Letters from Contraband Camps. Edited by Henry L. Swint. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1966. Notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 274. \$6.95.)

This book is primarily a collection of letters from the camps for "contraband" Negroes established by the Union armies during the Civil War and shortly thereafter. One who is aware that at least some slaves were literate might be led to believe (and hope) that the Negroes themselves had written the letters, but this is not the case. The writers were two idealistic Quaker teachers from Worcester, Massachusetts, named Lucy and Sarah Chase. Lucy, the older, stronger, and more articulate of the two, worked from 1862 to 1869, in Virginia, Georgia, and Florida, and Sarah was with her much of the time. They wrote home frequently, long newsy letters, full of the type of description that warms the historian's heart—pictures of the living conditions, and the attitudes and aspirations of the freedmen.

For this alone the collection is a valuable contribution and certainly it will be of assistance to students of Negro history. The letters reveal also a great deal about educational methods and relief measures during the war and immediate postwar periods. Perhaps the most interesting and revealing aspect of the book is the insight it gives into the minds of two Quaker humanitarians nurtured on the thought of antebellum New England reformers and so devoted to their ideals that they would endure mosquitoes, rat-infested cabins, and even the danger of shipwreck, and the battlefield. They were so dedicated to the welfare of the freedmen and so oblivious to the problems of whites that they sometimes appear to be infected with an inverted racism.

Professor Swint's editing deserves commendation. He has omitted some repetitious material from the letters and has spared readers the

burden of plowing through tedious footnotes encumbered with trivial and obscure data. Yet the information he provided is quite sufficient to make clear the content of the letters. The Introduction provides biographical information on the Chase sisters and explains the various reasons New Englanders were interested in the education of the freedmen.

Richard L. Zuber

Wake Forest College

Frontier Mission: A History of Religion West of the Southern Appalachians to 1861. By Walter Brownlow Posey. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966. Appendix, index. Pp. viii, 436. \$9.00.)

In numerous articles and books published over the past thirty-five years Professor Walter B. Posey has established himself as the foremost historian of American Christianity on the southern frontier. His publications have been marked by painstaking and thorough research, an orderly presentation, a critical approach free from bias, and an understanding of his subject.

The present volume, almost as large as the author's four previous ones combined, is a mixture of something old and something new; and it is good to have it all in one volume. The old is the story of the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists on the frontier from each's initial settlement until the early decades of the nineteenth century. The new consists of two parts: the extending of the history of these churches to 1861, and the inclusion of all other religious groups in the area. There is a protracted discussion of two items which were dealt with in the author's *Religious Strife on the Southern Frontier*; Roman Catholic activities in the area and the emergence and growth of two churches which were products of the frontier environment, the Disciples of Christ and the Cumberland Presbyterians. Other new material includes an account of the Protestant Episcopal church in the region, the story of the Shakers in Kentucky, a discussion of the split in the Methodist church, and a summary on the state of religion in the area on the eve of the Civil War.

In concluding a fine analysis of the "slavery problem" in the churches, Posey says (page 351): "without the direct and indirect support of the churches in the South . . . [slavery] might have been shortlived." This reviewer wishes that he had developed this idea,

since the religious establishment generally reflects the values and ideals of its environment.

Frontier Mission is a valuable book but its usefulness would have been greatly enhanced by the inclusion of a bibliography or bibliographical essay. Documentation is sparse and one is frequently referred to sources which are listed in one of the author's earlier volumes or articles. This could be a serious handicap since some of these books are out of print. Textual errors appear to be minor; the review copy contained garbled sentences on pages 167 and 192, and in several places Blountville, Tennessee, was spelled Blountsville. These are trivial and hardly detract from the value of the book. Students of American Christianity and the Old South are indebted to Professor Posey for this informative presentation.

W. Harrison Daniel

University of Richmond

The Right to Vote: Politics and the Passage of the Fifteenth Amendment.

By William Gillette. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press [John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series LXXXIII (1965), 1.], 1965. Frontispiece, preface, bibliography, index, list of tables, Pp. x, 181. \$4.50.)

Of all the legislative and constitutional developments during the Reconstruction era, perhaps none more clearly underscored the national aspects of Reconstruction than the passage and ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. While the Fourteenth Amendment has been the subject of numerous books and articles, students of the period have not given similar attention to the suffrage amendment. The only other extensive study of the Fifteenth Amendment is the *Legislative and Judicial History of the Fifteenth Amendment*, written by John M. Mathews and published almost sixty years ago. Yet, as William Gillette has pointed out in this unique and important monograph, the problem of suffrage evoked a decidedly national reaction, since the primary goal of the Fifteenth Amendment was the enfranchisement of Negroes outside the deep South. The securing of the vote for Negroes in the South was of some importance, although it was secondary to the fact that the suffrage question outside the South touched not only on the matter of the vote for Negroes but the use of the vote by various immigrant groups, notably the Irish.

While Gillette gives some attention to the tortuous road over which the Fifteenth Amendment traveled in the course of its passage by Congress, his principal concern is with its ratification. He gives adequate attention to its ratification by the southern states, but concentrates on the problem of ratification outside the South where, incidentally, only the five New England states along with Iowa and Minnesota voluntarily had already given the Negro the ballot. Since the ratification of the amendment might enfranchise as many as 170,000 Negroes in the border states, the Northeast, the Middle West, and the Far West, both political parties weighed with great care the impact of ratification on its own future. Where ratification might cost them elections in such states as Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey, the Democrats fought it bitterly. Where Republicans believed that the amendment did not go far enough or where they feared the vote of the Chinese, the Irish, and other foreign born, they opposed ratification. Circumstances differed from state to state and even from one locality to another.

The uncertainty of the outcome can be seen in the rejection of the amendment by Kentucky, Delaware, Georgia, and Ohio in 1869, and by New York's rescission of its ratification in January, 1870. When a sufficient number of states had finally ratified the amendment, the supporters of it had no cause for excessive elation, for, as Gillette points out, some states—Virginia, Mississippi, and Georgia—had been forced to ratify as a condition of readmission to the Union; and the proponents would not live to see Oregon and California ratify, in 1959 and 1962, respectively. Nor was there a sound basis for optimism regarding its effect: The amendment did not guarantee Negroes the vote in the South, the President did not seek conscientiously to enforce the amendment, and the Supreme Court in 1876 struck down the acts of Congress designed to enforce it. Perhaps most important of all, the American people lost interest in free and fair voting. In most parts of the country—in the North as well as in the South—political idealism was badly tarnished within a decade after ratification.

John Hope Franklin

University of Chicago

The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Edited by Arthur S. Link, with John W. Davidson and David W. Hurst, associate editors. Volume I, 1856-1880. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xxviii, 715. \$15.00.)

This, the first of some forty projected volumes, is an auspicious beginning for what will surely be one of the major historical landmarks of modern times. Woodrow Wilson, his thought, and his times will be known in a more intimate and more complete fashion than has hitherto been possible.

The human interest is considerable in this initial volume, which spans the years from Wilson's birth to his abrupt withdrawal from the law school of the University of Virginia. A diary which he kept in shorthand during his undergraduate years at Princeton is transcribed and printed here for the first time, and it is probably the single most interesting feature of the volume.

Wilson's deeply religious nature is well known. That he was not always pious and had some humor about him, even in his serious and intense college days, is illustrated by his description of himself in a letter to his father. He declared that he was distinguished in a crowd by his "long nose, open mouth, and consequential manner" and was "noted in college as a man who can make a remarkably good show with little or no material."

Next to Wilson himself, the most fascinating person revealed here is his father, the Reverend Joseph R. Wilson, whose deep love for his son and constant concern for his son's spiritual and intellectual growth are recurring themes in numerous letters. (The editors have wisely included a large number of the letters Wilson received.) No excerpt really does justice to the unusually close relationship between this father and son, and the following passage suggests only one of the many facets: "Your cheerfulness is most gratifying to us all. There is no better gift than this, and none more deserving of cultivation. One of the principal uses of our wonderfully humane religion is to promote buoyancy of disposition, by freeing the soul from that which is alone worthy of the name, *Burden*: the sense of sin. I trust that your good spirits, darling boy, are due in great part to an easy conscience—to the smile of God."

Janet Woodrow Wilson, not happy with life in Wilmington, during her husband's tenure in the First Presbyterian church there, wrote motherly, loving letters. During the tense, suspenseful days when the nation awaited the outcome of the Hayes-Tilden presidential contest,

she cautioned her passionately Democratic son: "The fear that you may be provoked beyond endurance, during these anxious days, by those Radical companions of yours, has crept into my heart." A few days later Wilson's mother confessed that "there is a great deal about the Southern people that I don't like—only I like them decidedly better than I do the Northern." She insisted that "the only thing we can do, in any case, is to keep quiet & submit. The Northern people must fight it out among themselves this time, and I am thankful that it is so."

Wilson's voracious reading in British history and literature, his constant study and effort to improve his oratorical and writing style (with astute help from his father), his cold disdain for universal suffrage and the contemporary workings of the federal government—all these are among the themes in this rich volume.

Robert F. Durden

Duke University

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

A Guide to Civil War Records in the North Carolina State Archives has recently been published by the State Department of Archives and History. Originally planned and begun as a project of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, the *Guide* was completed, edited, indexed, and typed for offset by members of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts. One hundred and twenty-eight pages in length, including a name, place, unit, and subject index of thirty-eight pages, it describes in summary detail those records in the archives belonging to the General Assembly, state convention, governor, adjutant general, auditor, secretary of state, treasurer and comptroller, and counties and municipalities, as well as organization records, maps, and newspapers, which relate to the Civil War. Although unpublished, detailed, finding aids for several of these records groups have been available for some time for the use of researchers who are in a position to visit the department's Search Room, no overall description of these significant records of the Civil War has previously been available for the use of scholars. Bound in an attractive paper cover which is illustrated by a wood engraving of a Confederate battle scene from a contemporary weekly, the *Guide* can be ordered from the Division of

Publications, Box 1881, Raleigh, N.C., 27602, for \$2.00 plus a 10-cent postage and handling charge. When ordering by mail, please include ZIP code.

During 1965 and 1966 the Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., has been involved in a program of reprinting *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790*, which includes the federal enumerations for eleven states: Connecticut, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Vermont. The census of 1790 for six additional states, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, New Jersey, Tennessee, and Virginia, were destroyed during the War of 1812. For Virginia, however, taxpayer lists made in the years 1782, 1783, 1784, and 1785 have been reconstructed to replace the original returns, and that volume has been included in the present series. The data have been reproduced by the photolithographic process on a good quality of paper; each clothbound volume measures 8½ x 11 inches, and prices range from \$7.50 to \$15.00 per volume. In addition to the enumeration of free white males of sixteen years and upward, free white males under sixteen years, free white females, all other free persons, and slaves, the 292-page volume for North Carolina includes a brief introduction and a 93-page index to names. Copies of the *North Carolina Census—1790* may be ordered from the publisher at 521-23 St. Paul Place, Baltimore, Maryland, 21202, for \$12.50 each.

A History of the North Carolina State Board of Health, 1877-1925, by Benjamin E. Washburn, is a brief account of the first fifty years of organized public health work in the state, beginning with events leading up to the establishment of the State Board of Health by the General Assembly in 1877 to the resignation of the first full-time state health officer, Dr. Watson Smith Rankin, in 1925. The 96-page text highlights the development of effective methods of treating and controlling then-prevalent diseases such as hookworm, typhoid, diphtheria, smallpox, and tuberculosis; particular emphasis is given to the appalling need for educating the public in health matters during those early decades. Perhaps this interesting little work will give impetus to a definitive study of the State Board of Health. A limited number of single copies of the book, which is bound in hardcovers and includes appendixes and indexes, will be available without charge from the Personal Health Division, State Board of Health, Raleigh.

New Gilead Church: A History of the German Reformed People on Coldwater, by the Reverend Banks Shepherd, has been written and published in an effort to organize and preserve the story of the church, thought to have been established in 1766. The book, which has been printed on a slick paper and bound in cloth, includes a number of interesting photographs. Twenty-two pages of the 63-page text are made up of appendixes, footnotes, a bibliography, and an index. The appendixes list the names of all the known pastors and their pastorates, members, cemetery records, and other important data from the church files. Copies of the book may be purchased at \$5.00 each from the publications committee of the New Gilead Church, Route 3, Concord, N. C., 28081.

The McGraw-Hill Book Company has rendered a service to students of the post-Civil War era by reprinting in a two-volume paperback edition Walter L. Fleming's *Documentary History of Reconstruction: Political, Military, Social, Religious, Educational, and Industrial, 1865 to 1906*. In the words of the editor, "The documents presented are principally laws, state and federal, official reports, and political platforms; accounts of Northern men and foreigners living or traveling in the South; accounts of Southerners, white and black, ex-Confederates and Unionists, Conservatives and Radicals. With the exception of the laws and political documents the material used consists mainly of accounts by persons who had first hand acquaintance with conditions in the South." This documentary collection was first published in 1912; in the intervening half century it has been supplemented but not superseded. Volume 1 (493 pages) includes a succinct and candid foreword by David Donald of John Hopkins University; Volume 2 (480 pages) includes a 22-page index. The volumes are priced at \$2.45 each. The publisher's address is 330 West 42nd Street, New York, N.Y., 10036.

American Intellectual Histories and Historians, by Robert Allen Skotheim, is a study of the history of ideas based on an analysis of selected works of American historians from William Bradford, leader of Plymouth Colony, to Eric Goldman, the most recent intellectual-in-residence at the White House. Although almost every American historian of note is mentioned briefly in the main text, in the footnotes, or in the "Essay on Historiographical Scholarship" (Appendix B), the author has chosen representative works of ten major seminal historians for in-depth analyses: Tyler, Eggleston, Robinson, Beard, Becker, Parrington, Curti, Morison, Miller, and Gabriel. At the con-

clusion of the book, one is left with the realization that historians of ideas have been extremely rare on the American scene and, with the author, laments that present-day professionals have not accepted the challenge of Perry Miller and Arthur Lovejoy but instead have turned to topic specialization. With this work, which began as a doctoral dissertation, Professor Skotheim has made an important contribution to American historiography. The 326-page book, bound in hardcovers, includes a preface, two appendixes, and an index. The publisher is Princeton University Press, and the price is \$6.95.

Princeton University Press is also the publisher of *Madison's "Advice to My Country,"* based on the Whig-Clio Bicentennial Lectures delivered at Princeton in 1965 by Adrienne Koch. Using as a catapult the last message of James Madison, written seventeen years after he left the office of President of the United States, Professor Koch surveys Madison's life from his student days at Princeton to his death at age eighty-five. Under three classical headings of liberty, justice, and union, the author discusses Madison's views on church, state, and education, federal and state cooperation, civil rights, nullification, slavery, and state rights, all subjects which have been or continue to be of crucial importance in American history. In this little book (the main text consists of only 159 pages in large print) Professor Koch has done much to restore luster to the image of one of the greatest statesmen America has yet produced, and "little Mr. Madison" would have been pleased with the felicitous prose. At the end of the text there are 27 pages of notes, which constitute a historiographical essay, a bibliographical list, and an index. The price of the book, which is clothbound, is \$4.50.

Harper Torchbooks has issued two titles in its "Contemporary Essay Series." In *Public Administration and Policy*, the editor, Peter Woll, associate professor of politics at Brandeis University, has selected twelve essays to present a brief, informative, and engrossing analysis of the roles assumed by the three branches of the federal government in the origin, development, and continuation of the great American bureaucracy. The book includes a preface, introduction, and an editorial note preceding each essay, all written by Professor Woll. At the end of the collection the identities of the contributors and the sources of the essays (all previously published) are given. The editor has achieved admirably his stated aim of stimulating the interest of students and general readers "concerned with recent trends in government and public administration." This paperbound volume is de-

signed TB 1284, has 279 pages, and is priced at \$2.75. The second title is *American Constitutional Law: Historical Essays*, edited by the general editor for the series, Leonard M. Levy. In a pleasantly didactic introduction, the editor, who is Earl Warren Professor of Constitutional Law and History at Brandeis University, leaves the impression the Constitution is a marvelously incandescent milestone on the highway of history, always available for reference, but of little practical value in negotiating the labyrinth of politics, business, and everyday living. For the vast majority who lack the time and interest to peruse one or more of the 380 volumes of Supreme Court decisions now available to find out what that 7,000-word document really says, Professor Levy has provided a very readable introductory study of the metamorphosis of the Constitution since 1789. The seven contributors represented are John P. Roche, Max Lerner, Robert J. Harris, Walton H. Hamilton, Robert G. McCloskey, Robert L. Stern, and Alpheus T. Mason. Each essay is preceded by an editorial critique, and a selected bibliography of articles for further reading has been included. This 247-page volume, which is numbered TB 1285, sells for \$2.45. The address of Harper and Row, Publishers, is 49 East 33rd Street, New York, N. Y., 10021.

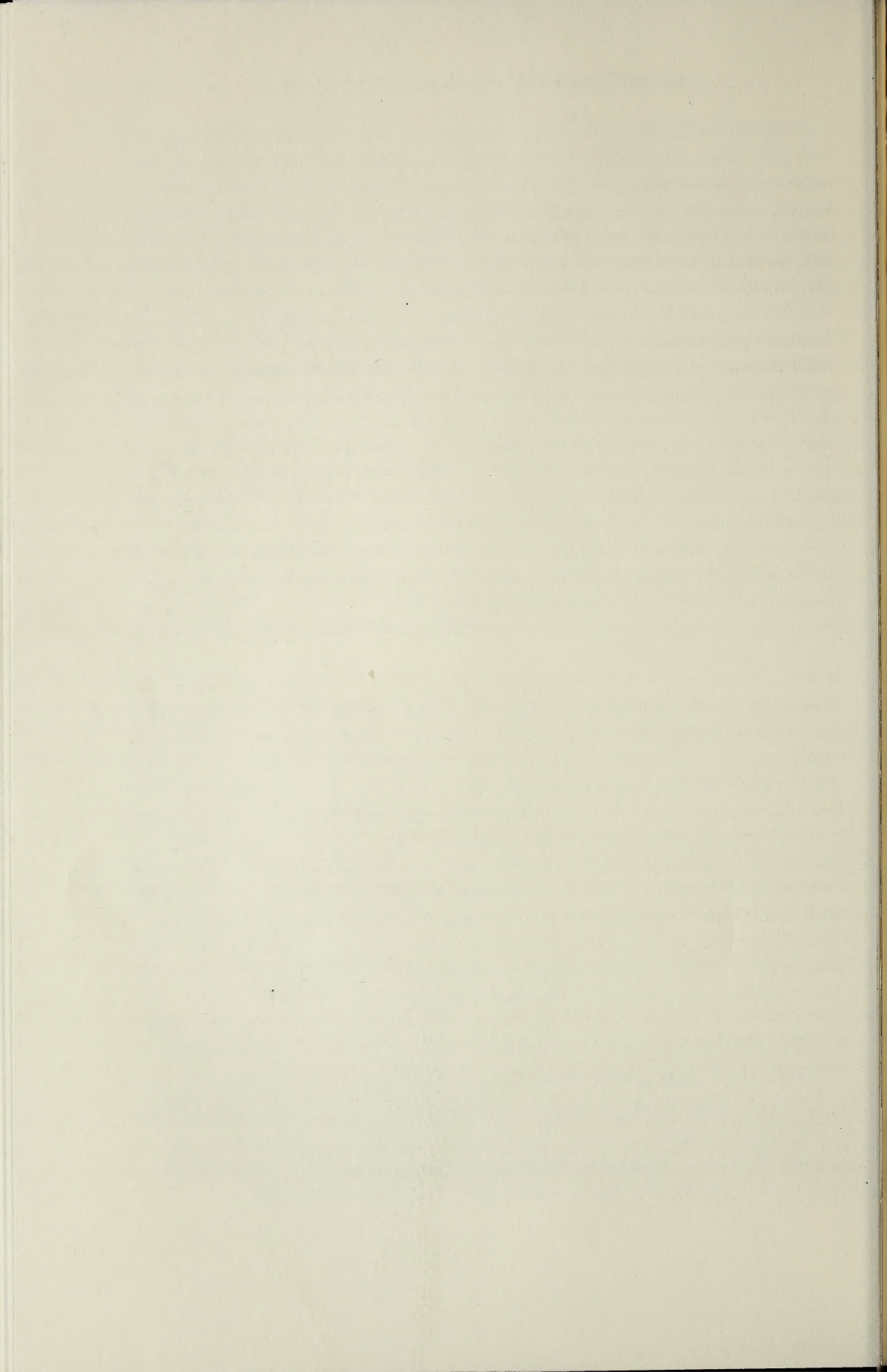
Editor's Note: The historical news will be published in an enlarged *Carolina Comments* beginning in January, 1967. *Carolina Comments* will be published bimonthly as in the past, but its size will conform to that of the *Review* and Permalife paper will be used in both publications. An index will be published each year.

The decision to make the change was reached after much discussion by both the members of the Advisory Editorial Board and the heads of the divisions of the Department of Archives and History.

Readers are invited to send news items for possible use in *Carolina Comments*. News should be sent promptly so that it will be published as soon as possible after events occur. Send news items to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, N. C., 27602.

The January issue of *Carolina Comments* will be delayed for a few days because of the decision to include news of the 1966 Culture Week meetings in this number rather than that for March.

The *North Carolina Historical Review* is printed on Permalife, a text paper developed through the combined efforts of William J. Barrow of the Virginia State Library, the Council on Library Resources, Inc., and the Standard Paper Manufacturing Company. Tests indicate that the paper theoretically has a useful life of at least 300 years.



THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of the *North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent states. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this state, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject matter for the *Review*, but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, and style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of the subject, and inaccurate citations.

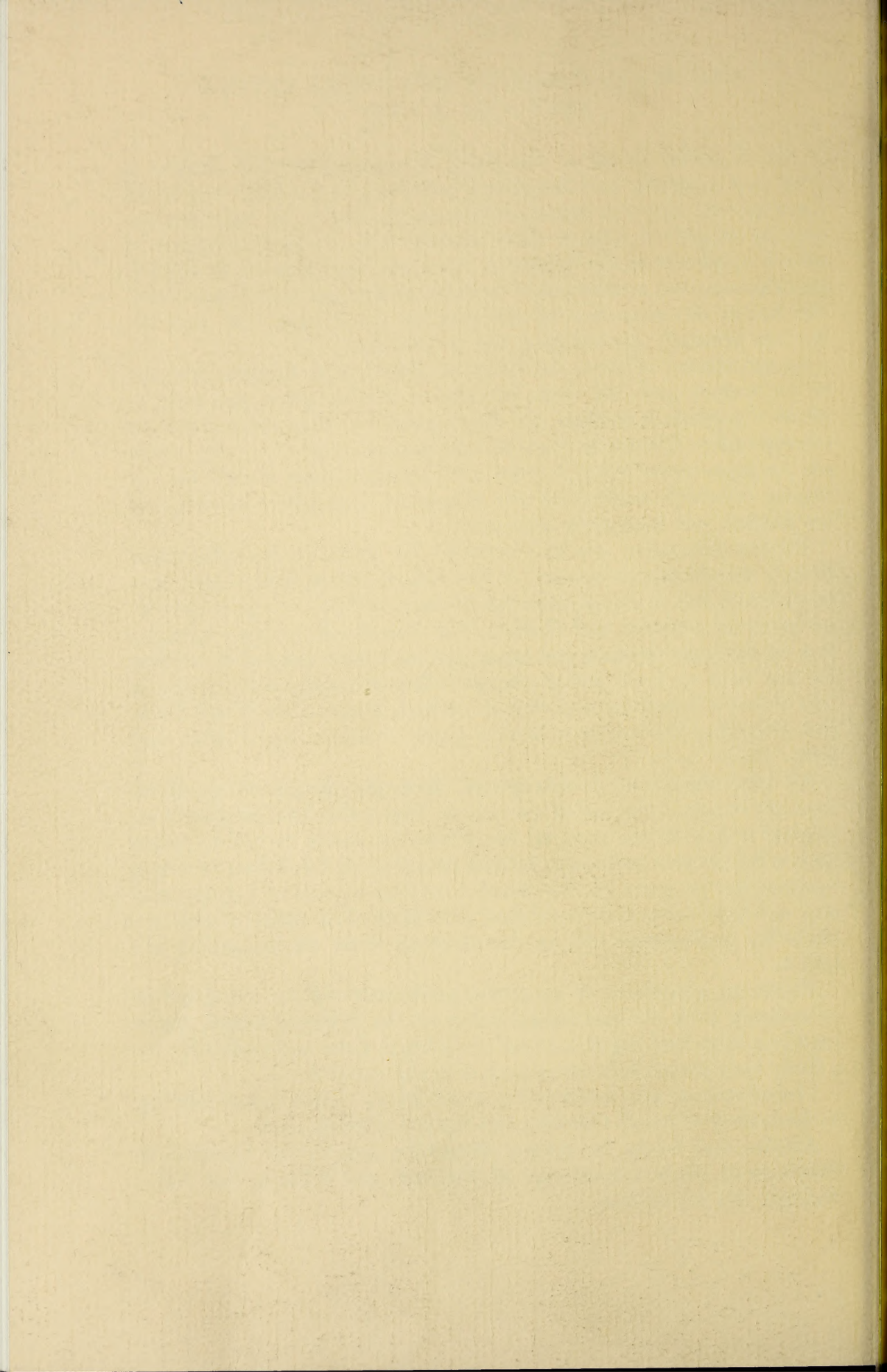
Persons desiring to submit articles for the *North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook*, which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for the *Review*. Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of the *North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of the *North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.



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Spring 1967

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is \$4.00 per year. Members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., for which the annual dues are \$5.00, receive this publication without further payment. Back numbers still in print are available for \$1.00 per number. Out-of-print numbers may be obtained from Kraus Reprint Corporation, 16 East 46th Street, New York, New York, 10017, or on microfilm from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Persons desiring to quote from this publication may do so without special permission from the editors provided full credit is given to the North Carolina Historical Review. The Review is published quarterly by the State Department of Archives and History, Education Building, Corner of Edenton and Salisbury Streets, Raleigh, North Carolina, 27601. Mailing address is Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina, 27602. Second class postage paid at Raleigh, North Carolina, 27602.

COVER—To help observe the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Salem, the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association held its 1966 Culture Week sessions in Winston-Salem, November 29 through December 3, 1966. Music was an important part of both the religious and secular activities of the Moravians in early Salem. Pictured on the cover are a flute, violin, cornet, and French horn, dating from the first days of the village and preserved in the Wachovia Museum. For an article on the contribution of the Moravians to the history of North Carolina, see pages 144 to 153. Photograph by Edward Ragland, reproduced by courtesy of Old Salem, Inc.

The North Carolina Historical Review

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FACTORS IN THE ECONOMY OF COLONIAL BEAUFORT

BY CHARLES L. PAUL *

The town of Beaufort was laid out and named on October 2, 1713, on land owned by Robert Turner, a local settler.¹ Though laid out by permission of the Lords Proprietors, the town was not incorporated by the Colonial government until 1723.² In the meantime, it had been established as a port of entry for the colony³ and had been designated as the site of the courthouse for Carteret Precinct, which was established in 1722.⁴ Moreover, at least thirty-nine town lots had been sold before the time of its incorporation.⁵

These early indications of Beaufort's growth and development, however, were more apparent than real, for few, if any, of the first purchasers of lots made their homes in the town.⁶ The history of Beaufort

* Mr. Paul is professor of history at Chowan College, Murfreesboro.

¹ Permission for, the date of, and the men and circumstances connected with the laying out of the town are mentioned in most of the deeds for lots issued before the town was incorporated in 1723. See Carteret County Deed Books, Office of the Register of Deeds, Carteret County Courthouse, Beaufort, Deed Book D, 91-92, and *passim*, hereinafter cited as Carteret Deed Books; Craven County Will Books, Office of the Clerk of Court, Craven County Courthouse, New Bern, Will Book A, 13-51, hereinafter cited as Craven Will Books. See also Charles L. Paul, "Colonial Beaufort," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XLII (Spring, 1965), 139-152, hereinafter cited as Paul, "Colonial Beaufort."

² Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XXIII, 334, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*. For the text of the act of incorporation see Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206-209.

³ William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), II, 454, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

⁴ Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 102. For the establishment of Carteret Precinct see David Leroy Corbitt, *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1950), 74.

⁵ Carteret Deed Books, A, 65, and D, 121, 277-278; Craven Will Books, A, 13-20, 23, 28-32, 48-51.

⁶ Twenty-two of the thirty-nine lots sold before 1723 were later resold by the town commissioners with the stipulation that a house must be built on them within a prescribed length of time, an indication that their first owners had not built on them. Carteret Deed Books, A, D, G, H, I, *passim*. The remaining seventeen lots were owned by Thomas Roper, Christopher Gale, James Moore, Maurice Moore, John Royal, Christopher Hale, John Clark, and James Davis. Carteret Deed Books, A, 65, and D, 121, 277-278; Craven Will Books, A, 13, 17-20, 48-51. With the possible exception of James Davis, all of these men lived outside of the Beaufort area in the period



The "Hummock House" in Beaufort, which derives its name from the high ground or hillock on which it stands. The house is thought to have been built in the early eighteenth century and it seems most likely to be the "White House" which pilots of ships at sea sighted to guide them into Beaufort harbor. Photograph by Roy Eubanks, reproduced by courtesy of the Beaufort Historical Association.

between the founding of the town in 1713 and its incorporation in 1723. Beaufort County Deed Books, Office of the Register of Deeds, Beaufort County Courthouse, Washington, Deed Book 1, 143, 193, hereinafter cited as Beaufort County Deed Books; C. Wingate Reed, *Beaufort County, Two Centuries of History* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Co., 1960), 26-27; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 209, 257, 316, 608; Craven Will Books, A, 20, 48-51. These considerations do not preclude the fact that Beaufort received settlers in this period, because the records for the sale of lots in the town are incomplete and settlers might have purchased lots without having their deeds recorded. That this did occur on occasion is abundantly evident from the existing records.

throughout the Colonial period was one of very limited growth. In 1737 John Brickell described Beaufort as "small and thinly inhabited,"⁷ and as late as 1765 a visitor in the town reported that it did not have more than twelve houses.⁸ Though settlement became more substantial after 1765,⁹ the town's number of taxables did not exceed one hundred during the Colonial period.¹⁰

Economic factors played a decisive role in determining Beaufort's smallness as a Colonial town. The nature of Beaufort's economy, in turn, was largely determined by the physical features and the natural resources of the surrounding area. An examination of these matters is essential to an understanding of the town's slow development.

Colonial Beaufort was a seaport located on the North Carolina mainland about midway between the present states of Virginia and South Carolina. It was separated from the open sea by the waters of Core and Bogue sounds, which lay between the mainland and the islands of the Outer Banks.¹¹ Piercing the Outer Banks just two miles south of Beaufort, Topsail Inlet provided this port with access to the open sea.¹² Topsail Inlet was the most navigable of any of the inlets

⁷ John Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina with an Account of the Trade, Manners, and Customs of the Christian and Indian Inhabitants* (Dublin, Ireland: Printed by James Carson, 1737), 8, hereinafter cited as Brickell, *Natural History*.

⁸ "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, Part I," *American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 733, hereinafter cited as "Journal of a French Traveller."

⁹ Whereas the town was reported to have had not more than twelve houses in 1765, at least nine new buildings were erected in Beaufort during the six years following 1765. Carteret Deed Books, H, 70, 315-316, 332, 357, 445-446, 480; I, 246-247, 354-355, 385.

¹⁰ Taxables were white males over sixteen years of age and Negroes and mulattoes of either sex over twelve years of age. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 489. There are no available figures from the Colonial period which reveal the exact number of taxables living in Beaufort at any one time; in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, however, slightly more than one tenth of the population of Carteret County lived in the town. Compare A. R. Newsome (ed.), "A Miscellany from the Thomas Henderson Letter Book, 1810-1811," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (October, 1929), 398, hereinafter cited as Newsome, "Miscellany from the Thomas Henderson Letter Book"; and Charles L. Coon, *The Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1790-1840* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1908), I, 20, 486. Since the total number of taxables for all of Carteret County in 1774 was only 870 (see Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, Beaufort, 1742-1843, 3 volumes, State Archives, I, 68, hereinafter cited as Vestry Books of St. John's Parish), it must be concluded that the number of taxables living in Beaufort did not exceed one hundred during the Colonial period.

¹¹ According to present designations Core Sound extends no closer to Beaufort than the eastern tip of Harkers Island. In earlier years, however, Core Sound was considered as extending to and including Beaufort harbor. See Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 129-130, and *passim*.

¹² This inlet is now called Beaufort Inlet, but its general designation during the Colonial period was Topsail Inlet. See inset entitled "Port Beaufort or Topsail Inlet" on Edward Moseley's "New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina," in William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, c. 1958), Plate 52; the same map is included also in William P. Cumming, *North Carolina in Maps* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and

along the North Carolina coast,¹³ having a low-water depth of twelve feet with approximately four additional feet on high tide.¹⁴ Between the inlet and the town lay the body of water which provided Beaufort with "a safe and Commodious Harbor. . . ."¹⁵ The depth of the water in this harbor ranged from five to seven fathoms.¹⁶

Beaufort was situated on a small peninsula formed by the North and Newport rivers, both of which were shallow and short, averaging less than five feet in depth and extending less than fifteen miles into the interior.¹⁷ Core and Bogue sounds were also shallow but were longer, extending when considered together some sixty miles along the coast from a northeasterly to a southwesterly direction. As a passageway Core Sound was the most important inland waterway to the life of Colonial Beaufort in that it provided a water connection with Pamlico Sound and, hence, with the towns of New Bern, Bath, and Edenton. Nevertheless, Core Sound was a shallow and inconvenient passageway,¹⁸ and one of the most significant features of Beaufort's network of inland waterways was that none of them provided a convenient connection with the more productive interior.

History, 1966), Plate VI, hereinafter cited as Moseley's "Map of Port Beaufort." See also Frances Latham Harriss (ed.), *Lawson's History of North Carolina* (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, Inc., 1960), 61-65, hereinafter cited as Harriss, *Lawson's History*; and Brickell, *Natural History*, 4. It was sometimes called Old Topsail Inlet. See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 608. This inlet is not to be confused with the present New Topsail or Old Topsail inlets located near Hamstead.

¹³ For a comparison of North Carolina's major inlets in the Colonial period see Charles Christopher Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), 3-4, hereinafter cited as Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina*, in which the author comments that "Old Topsail was not as dangerous as most of the other inlets" in North Carolina and that "the number of wrecks occurring there was not large." See also Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 684, in which Beaufort Inlet is described as "being very safe and Navigable for Vessels of Great Burthen. . . ."

¹⁴ See Moseley's "Map of Port Beaufort." On this map, which is dated 1733, Beaufort Inlet is described as having twelve feet of water on the bar. See also Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 65, and Brickell, *Natural History*, 4. In 1762 Governor Dobbs described it as having sixteen feet of water, but he did not specify whether this measurement was made on high or low tide. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 608. A French traveler who visited the colony in 1765 commented that it had thirteen feet of water on low tide and that the tide did not rise above four feet. "Journal of a French Traveller," 733. In the light of this Frenchman's comments, it may be concluded that Governor Dobbs' measurement was made on high tide.

¹⁵ Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 684.

¹⁶ See Moseley's "Map of Port Beaufort."

¹⁷ No records are available revealing the average depth of water in these rivers during the Colonial period. The above judgments are based on recent measurements made by the United States Department of Commerce Coast and Geodetic Survey and recorded on navigation charts of the Beaufort area.

¹⁸ In 1761 it was described as having "about 5 feet water." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 607.

The terrain of the area surrounding Beaufort¹⁹ was almost completely flat, the elevation ranging from sea level to thirty feet above sea level. Such flat terrain provided poor natural drainage, except near the rivers, sounds, and creeks which facilitated it. This was especially true for the less sandy soils which were dominant in the area. Those soils which were sandy enough to allow internal drainage were in many cases poor in fertility. The result of these conditions was that most of the land, except for small areas of high, loamy soil located near the waterways, was poorly suited for cultivation. Though comparatively small in total acreage, there were numerous tracts of land along the edges of the waterways which were well suited for the production of a variety of crops.²⁰

The early settlers in the Beaufort area found two main types of natural vegetation. On the tidal marsh, which was especially prevalent along the edges of North River, Newport River, Core Sound, and the Sound side of the Outer Banks, and which constituted at least 20 percent of the area under consideration,²¹ coarse marsh grasses and rushes were virtually the only type of vegetation. On the rest of the soils different types of pine trees were dominant—on the more sandy soils west of Beaufort longleaf pines were the most numerous, while loblolly pines dominated the less sandy soils.²²

Another geographical feature which affected the life of Colonial Beaufort was the presence of a very fine harbor at Cape Lookout located nine miles southeast of the town. It was unique among North Carolina harbors in that it was situated on the ocean side of the beach, and one did not have to navigate a treacherous bar in order to enter it. In 1756 Governor Arthur Dobbs reported that he had surveyed this harbor and that it had "27 [feet?] to 3 fathom water steep to the bank. . . ." He rather enthusiastically described this harbor as "the best and safest from Boston to the Capes of Florida, where a large squadron may lie as safe as in a mill pond. . . ." ²³

The economic activities of Colonial Beaufort were largely based

¹⁹ In this article the terms *area surrounding Beaufort* and *Beaufort area* are intended to include all of that part of Carteret County that lies on Bogue Sound, Core Sound, Newport River, North River, and the creeks and bays draining into them. This designation is justified by the fact that in the Colonial period the people living on these waterways were drawn to Beaufort politically, geographically, and economically.

²⁰ S. O. Perkins and Others, *Soil Survey of Carteret County, North Carolina* (Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, 1938), 8-34, hereinafter cited as Perkins, *Soil Survey*. See also Harry Roy Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, c. 1964), 37-49, hereinafter cited as Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*.

²¹ Perkins, *Soil Survey*, 9, and the accompanying soil map.

²² Perkins, *Soil Survey*, 2; Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, 86-88, 185-193.

²³ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 598.

upon the exploitation of the natural resources which were present in the area surrounding the town. One of these natural resources was the marine life which inhabited the waters of the Beaufort area. As early as 1585 the great abundance of fish in the Core Sound area was noted,²⁴ and in 1709 John Lawson listed forty-one types of fish and eighteen types of shellfish found along the coast of North Carolina. Most of those which Lawson listed were described as being useful either because of their value as food or because of some by-product derived from them.²⁵

The production of seafood for commercial purposes became an item in the economy of the Beaufort area very soon after the first settlers arrived.²⁶ Before 1709 red drum, a fish which Lawson described as being found in "greater Number . . . than any other sort," were being caught, salted, and exported to other colonies.²⁷ That the Core Sound area was a center of this drum fishing activity is indicated by the fact that by 1709 an inlet in that area was named Drum Inlet.²⁸ It was while fishing at this inlet sometime before 1711 that John Fulford, who lived near the Straits of Core Sound,²⁹ and two companions were deprived of their provisions and equipment by two Indians.³⁰

Types of seafood other than red drum were exported from the Beaufort area at a very early date. For instance, in 1710 Christoph Von Graffenried inscribed on his map of the Swiss and German settlement,

²⁴ See "The Tiger Journal of the 1585 Voyage," in David Beers Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584* (London: Hakluyt Society [Second Series No. CIV], 2 volumes, 1955), I, 188, hereinafter cited as Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*. Among other things, this document describes the first landing made on the North American mainland by members of the second voyage of the Raleigh venture in 1585 under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, At the site of the landing the members of this expedition caught "in one tyde so much fishe as woulde haue yelded vs XX. pounds in London." In his notes on this document Quinn comments that "Beaufort Harbour is the most likely location" for Grenville's first landing. Quinn *Roanoke Voyages*, I, 188n.

²⁵ Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 159ff.

²⁶ Settlers had arrived in the Beaufort area by 1708. See Paul, "Colonial Beaufort," 140-141.

²⁷ Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 165.

²⁸ See Lawson's map, which is reproduced as the frontispiece in Harriss, *Lawson's History*.

²⁹ Minutes of the Craven County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1712-1715, State Archives, Book I, 1, hereinafter cited as Craven Court Minutes.

³⁰ This incident was reported as follows: "And further John Fulford; has to acquaint yr honour: that they where asleep att the Inlett: in the Night: There where three in Company: They went there a fishing at Drum Inlett: & there came two Indians as they found nex morning by there Track: on the Sand: They took with them one Matt: Two fishing lines: & one blannckett & one broad axe: & one stuff West: & two pr of Linned Drawes: & the Majert part of there provision." J. R. B. Hathaway (ed.), *The North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, II, 437-438, hereinafter cited as Hathaway, *Genealogical Register*. Though this report is not dated it is listed by the editor among "Items Relating to the Indian Troubles Out of Which Came the Indian War of 1711-12" and is preceded by a document dated 1704.

which he had planted at the present site of New Bern, that "fish, oysters, crabs, clams, and many other things" were brought to his colony from the Core Sound area.³¹

Though extensive records are lacking, it is evident that the exportation of seafood remained an important factor in the economy of Beaufort throughout the Colonial period. In 1765 it was reported that the Beaufort area had "fish and oysters . . . in great plenty, . . ." ³² and in 1771 Governor Josiah Martin described Beaufort as "a small fishing Town. . . ." ³³ The value which some of the inhabitants of the area placed upon this natural resource is seen in the fact that in 1771 Jacob Shepard, one of Carteret County's representatives in the Assembly, ³⁴ presented to that body a petition "from sundry of the Inhabitants of Carteret County therein praying a stop may be put to the hauling of seins in the said County." ³⁵ The result of this petition was the enactment of a law "to prevent the untimely Destruction of Fish in Core Sound, Bogue Sound, and the Straights in Carteret County." ³⁶ Some indication of the importance of fishing during the Colonial period can perhaps be inferred from a record dated January 1, 1789, which shows that no less than 212 barrels of fish were exported from the town of Beaufort in the preceding six months. ³⁷

Though they were not used for food, whales were plentiful along the coast near Beaufort and were an important economic factor in that area during the Colonial period. As early as 1681 the Lords Proprietors were informed that "there are many Whales upon the Coast of Carolina," ³⁸ and in 1709 John Lawson commented that "Whales are very numerous on the Coast of North Carolina. . . ." ³⁹ According to the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina issued in 1669, these mammals were the property of the Lords Proprietors. ⁴⁰ On July 13, 1681, the Lords Proprietors granted the inhabitants of Carolina "free lease for the space of seven years . . . to take what whales they can and convert them to their owne use. . . ." ⁴¹ That this lease was renewed in

³¹ Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., *Governor Tryon and His Palace* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, c. 1955), opposite 32.

³² "Journal of a French Traveller," 733.

³³ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 33.

³⁴ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 106.

³⁵ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 392.

³⁶ Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 803.

³⁷ Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers, Port Beaufort, 1784-1789, State Archives, hereinafter cited as Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort.

³⁸ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 338.

³⁹ Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 162.

⁴⁰ Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 135.

⁴¹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 338.

succeeding years and that some of the inhabitants of Carolina made use of this opportunity is shown by the record of a case brought before the general court of Albemarle County in 1694. This case involved Timothy Pead, Charles Thomas, and Mathias Towler; and its purpose was to determine which party should have legal possession of a whale.⁴²

In 1709 whaling on the North Carolina coast was restricted to "a few People who live on the Sand-Banks" of the coast,⁴³ but in 1715 the Lords Proprietors opened the waters to "any New England men or others to catch Whales, Stergeon or any other Royal Fish. . . ." ⁴⁴ This brought whalers from other colonies to North Carolina.⁴⁵ The only fee required for this whaling privilege was the annual payment of two deerskins to the Lords Proprietors. As years passed, however, this fee was increased to one tenth of the oil and whalebone produced from all whales caught.⁴⁶ Finally, in 1730, just after North Carolina became a royal colony, this fee was completely abolished for the sake of encouraging the whaling industry.⁴⁷

At first whaling activities on the North Carolina coast were confined to the processing of those whales "being found dead on the shore. . . ." ⁴⁸ After 1715, when whalers started entering the colony from other areas, this situation gradually changed. By 1726 boats were being used in the local whaling industry, and a license granted to Samuel Chadwick in that year gave him permission to use three boats in his whaling activities.⁴⁹ Apparently the whales were spotted from lookout stations on the beach, after which the crews manned the boats, encountered and killed the whales, and towed them back to the beach where the whalebone was saved and the blubber was used for oil. Cape Lookout, with its safe harbor on the ocean side of the beach, was an ideal location for such whaling activities.

Even before its incorporation as a town in 1723, Beaufort had be-

⁴² Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 419.

⁴³ Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 88.

⁴⁴ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 175-176.

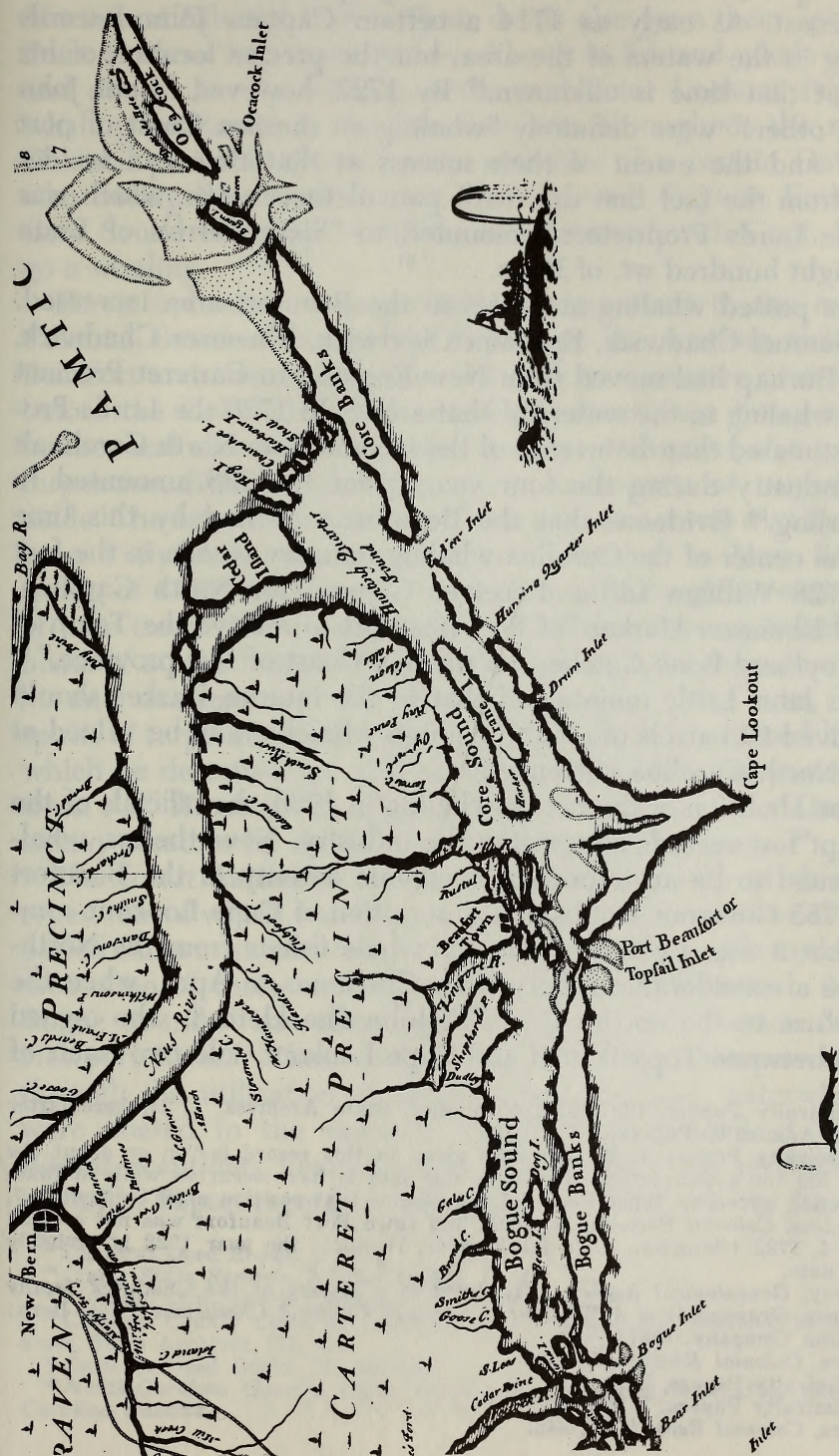
⁴⁵ In 1715 John Royal, a mariner from Boston, purchased six lots in Beaufort. Craven Will Books, A, 48-51. This record does not connect Royal with the whaling industry, but it does not rule out the possibility that he was at Beaufort for that purpose. More positive evidence that the action of the Lords Proprietors brought whalers from other colonies to the area is the fact that during a gale in November, 1720, three sloops, all of which were en route from New England to North Carolina, were forced to seek shelter at Hampton, Virginia. At least one of these sloops was coming to the Colony "to procure a License to Whale." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 397.

⁴⁶ This fee was increased sometime before 1723. See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 490.

⁴⁷ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 99, 214.

⁴⁸ Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 162.

⁴⁹ Hathaway, *Genealogical Register*, II, 298.



A portion of Edward Moseley's "New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina," which is dated 1733. Note the sketch of a whale off Bogue Banks and a sketch of a whale and whalers off Core Banks.

come an important center of the whaling operations off the North Carolina coast. As early as 1714 a certain Captain John Records was fishing in the waters of the area, but the precise location of his activities at that time is unknown.⁵⁰ By 1722, however, "Capt John Records & others" were definitely "whaling on the Sea Coast of port Beaufort," and the extent of their success at that time can be determined from the fact that the tenth part of their catch, which was due to the Lords Proprietors, amounted to "Sixty Barrels of Brain oyl and Eight hundred wt. of Bone. . . ." ⁵¹

As years passed whaling activities in the Beaufort area increased. By 1726 Samuel Chadwick, Ephraim Chadwick, Ebenezer Chadwick, and John Burnap had moved from New England to Carteret Precinct and were whaling in the waters of that area.⁵² In 1728 the Lords Proprietors estimated that their tenth of the income from North Carolina's whaling industry during the four years prior to 1728 amounted to £800 sterling.⁵³ Evidence that the Beaufort area had by this time become the center of the Carolina whaling industry is seen in the fact that in 1728 William Little, Receiver General for North Carolina, deputized Ebenezer Harker "of Port Beaufort to receive the Tenth of all whale oyl and Bone Caught on the Sea Coast of this province." ⁵⁴ Two years later Little maintained that in the interim Harker should have received 67 barrels of oil and enough whalebone to be valued at £360 in North Carolina currency.⁵⁵

After the abolition of the tax on whaling in 1730, the officials of the colony kept few records concerning the industry. Nevertheless, whaling continued to be an important economic activity in the Beaufort area. In 1755 Governor Dobbs in a description of Cape Lookout commented that it was a place "where the whale fishers from the Northward have a considerable fishery from Christmas to April, when the whales return to the northwd. . . ." ⁵⁶ John Shackelford, who owned the beach between Topsail Inlet and Cape Lookout, sold two tracts of

⁵⁰ Vice-Admiralty Papers, 1697-1759, 4 volumes, State Archives, I, 24, hereinafter cited as Vice-Admiralty Papers.

⁵¹ Vice-Admiralty Papers, I, 28. The date given in this record is "on or about the year 1721," but the action described in it is also said to have occurred while William Reed was acting governor. Since Reed did not assume that position until September 7, 1722 (Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 460), and since Port Beaufort was not created until April 4, 1722 (Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 454), the year 1722 is probably the correct date.

⁵² Hathaway, *Genealogical Register*, II, 298. For a history of the Chadwick family see Amy Muse, *Grandpa Was A Whaler: A Story of Carteret Chadwicks* (New Bern: Owen G. Dunn Company, 1961).

⁵³ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 722.

⁵⁴ Vice-Admiralty Papers, I, 22.

⁵⁵ Vice-Admiralty Papers, I, 22.

⁵⁶ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 346.

that beach in 1757 to men connected with the whaling industry, Joseph Morse and Edward Fuller. Their deeds also gave them "privileges to Point Lookout Bay that is to have liberty to fish and whale in said Bay and also to have a landing at the said Point Lookout Bay."⁵⁷ That whaling continued in the Beaufort area throughout the rest of the Colonial period is shown by the activities of a certain David Wade, who during the Revolutionary War deserted Captain Enoch Ward's Core Sound company of militia and "entered with Capt. Pinkum to go a whaling. . . ." ⁵⁸

Forest industries were probably as important to the economy of Colonial Beaufort as was the fishing or the whaling industry. The Beaufort area was richly endowed with an extensive pine forest, and before the Colonial period ended this forest was being sawed into lumber and also was being used for the production of tar and crude turpentine, from which rosin, pitch, and spirits of turpentine were made. The extensive character of this pine forest was vividly described by a Frenchman who traveled from Beaufort to New Bern in the spring of 1765. His journey, he said, was "through a continual forest of pine trees." He spent the first night after leaving Beaufort at the home of a "good Quaker" who lived twelve miles from the town; and his only description of this Quaker other than "good" was, "He makes spirits of turpentine and rosin." The next day he continued his journey, which he described as "still the same thing today as yesterday, pine trees. . . ." He even commented that the road was "very Dangerous in stormy weather by the falling of the great dead trees." ⁵⁹

The forest industries of the Beaufort area were of three distinct types, one of which was the production of lumber. Before the Colonial period came to an end, there were at least two sawmills in the Beaufort area. One of these was located on Gales Creek, which flowed into Bogue Sound;⁶⁰ the other was on Black Creek, which flowed into Newport River.⁶¹ These sawmills were run by waterpower produced through the utilization of dams, tide gates, and waterwheels. Logs were floated to the sawmills, which were located at the dams.⁶² Boards, scantlings, heavy timbers, and shingles were produced at these sawmills. Export records which apply specifically to the Beaufort area

⁵⁷ Carteret Deed Books, F, 456.

⁵⁸ Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 894-895.

⁵⁹ "Journal of a French Traveller," 734.

⁶⁰ Carteret County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1723-1789, 4 volumes, State Archives, III, 319.

⁶¹ Carteret Deed Books, H, 440-441.

⁶² *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), June 6, 1778, hereinafter cited as *North-Carolina Gazette*.

are not available for the Colonial period, but they do exist for a short period just after the end of the Revolutionary War. These records show that during a period of ten months in the years 1788 and 1789, 327,000 shingles and 161,500 feet of lumber of different types were exported from the town of Beaufort.⁶³

Another forest industry of the Beaufort area was concerned with the production of crude turpentine and its related products, rosin and spirits of turpentine. Although these products were being produced in the colony as early as 1709,⁶⁴ they were not mentioned in the records of the Beaufort area until 1743. In that year Josiah Jones of Carteret County purchased a seven-acre tract of land on the northeast side of White Oak River and paid for it with twenty barrels of turpentine.⁶⁵ Two years later, in 1745, Samuel Chadwick, who had moved to Carteret County as a whaler, sold two tracts of land in that county but reserved the pine trees growing on these tracts of land for his own use. The deeds which he granted for these tracts stipulated that he was to have the "liberty to tend or work or make any better use of them [the pine trees] and bare of[f] or Carry of[f] from ye. sd. land any turpentine made of the sd. pines or any timber or rales got or made on the sd. lands. . . ." The price paid for one of these tracts of land was one hundred barrels of "good merchantable . . . turpentine. . . ." ⁶⁶ There can be no doubt that by the 1740's the production of turpentine had become a factor in the economy of the Beaufort area.

Crude turpentine was the oleoresin of longleaf pines obtained as an exudate from small incisions made in the trunks of the trees. Although the turpentine could be obtained during all seasons of the year, the peak of activity came during the spring and summer months when the oleoresin flowed most freely.⁶⁷ As the crude turpentine oozed from

⁶³ Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, 1784-1789. In 1764 only 222,150 shingles and 134,560 feet of lumber were exported from all of the Port Beaufort customs district. D. L. Corbitt (ed.), "Imports and Exports at Beaufort, 1764," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (October, 1929), 412, hereinafter cited as Corbitt, "Imports and Exports at Beaufort, 1764." See below for the area included in the Port Beaufort customs district in 1764.

⁶⁴ Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 100.

⁶⁵ Carteret Deed Books, D, 357. This turpentine was probably in its crude form, since the records of the Beaufort area appear to be consistent in referring to the distilled product as spirits of turpentine.

⁶⁶ Carteret Deed Books, D, 380, 395.

⁶⁷ The Frenchman who traveled from Beaufort to New Bern in the spring of 1765 commented that "turpentine is only made in the summer time." "Journal of a French Traveller," 733. For the seasonal aspect of this industry as well as its utilization of longleaf pines, see Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, 86-87, 229; and Kenneth B. Pomeroy and James G. Yoho, *North Carolina Lands; Ownership, Use, and Management of Forest and Related Lands* (Washington: American Forestry Association, 1964), 13, hereinafter cited as Pomeroy and Yoho, *North Carolina Lands*.

the tree, it drained down into a deep hole called a cup which had been placed near the base of the tree. Every three or four weeks the fluid was collected into barrels, which held $31\frac{1}{2}$ gallons and which weighed, when filled, 320 pounds. One man could tend approximately 3,000 trees, which in the course of one season would produce about 100 barrels of crude turpentine. This was usually sold in its natural form, the price of which in 1765 was eight shillings current money per barrel.⁶⁸ On occasions, however, it was distilled into spirits of turpentine.⁶⁹ One barrel of crude turpentine would produce about three gallons of spirits of turpentine. The chief by-product of this distilling process was rosin which, among other things, was used in the production of varnish.⁷⁰ An indication of the extent of this industry in the Beaufort area during the Colonial period can be attained from the export records mentioned above. During a period of ten months duration in the years 1788 and 1789, 293 barrels of crude turpentine, 192 barrels of rosin, and 22 barrels of spirits of turpentine were exported from the town of Beaufort.⁷¹

The production of tar and pitch was also a forest industry in the Beaufort area during the Colonial period. In fact the Frenchman who journeyed from Beaufort to New Bern in 1765 commented that "there is . . . great quantities of tarr and pitch raised in this part of the country; indeed more than in any other part of America."⁷² To be sure, this comment was intended to apply to all of the eastern part of the colony, but the fact that it was made in connection with a description of the Beaufort area is significant.

The manufacture of tar was more complex than the production of turpentine and its related products. It was extracted from the wood of pine trees, "generally of old fallen pines and of the branches and knotty parts," by heating this wood in a kiln designed for that purpose. The base of such a kiln was made of clay, was circular in shape, and sloped downward toward the center. The pine wood was laid on the base in a pile reaching a height of from ten to twelve feet and was arranged so that each piece extended outward and slightly upward from the center of the pile. The whole pile was then covered

⁶⁸ A contemporary account of the methods used in the production of crude turpentine is given in "Journal of a French Traveller," 733. See also Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina*, 54; and Pomeroy and Yoho, *North Carolina Lands*, 13.

⁶⁹ "Journal of a French Traveller," 734.

⁷⁰ Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina*, 54. Varnish was being produced in the Beaufort area by 1788. Export records for the period between July 1, 1788, and January 1, 1789, show that nineteen barrels of varnish were shipped from the town of Beaufort. Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, 1784-1789.

⁷¹ Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, 1784-1789.

⁷² "Journal of a French Traveller," 733-734.

with an earthen wall, except for a small opening at the top where a fire was kindled. Small holes were punched through the sides of the kiln as needed for ventilation and the opening at the top was partly covered so as to confine the fire and to leave only enough heat to force the tar downward in the wood and eventually to the base of the kiln. A wooden pipe sloping downward from a small hole in the center of the base of the kiln carried the tar to a point approximately ten feet outside of the circumference of the kiln. A pit was dug at the outward end of this pipe, in which a barrel was placed to catch the tar as it drained from the kiln. The barrels used for tar held and weighed the same amount when filled as did the barrels used for turpentine.⁷³

The production of pitch was much less complicated than the production of tar. It was made simply "by boiling it [tar] in an Iron kettle or making a hole in the Ground in which the tar is put and set on fire and burns itself into pitch."⁷⁴

Export records for the years 1788 and 1789 show that 319 barrels of tar were shipped from the town of Beaufort within a period of ten months.⁷⁵

Another economic activity of the area around Colonial Beaufort which was made possible, at least in part, by the trees of that area was shipbuilding. The tall, straight pines provided not only lumber for shipbuilding but were also ideal for masts; and the chief products of these pines—tar, pitch, turpentine, and rosin—were recognized as essential naval stores. Though pines dominated the landscape in the area, the "Sandy Islands and Sea Coasts on the Main" supported an abundant growth of cedars and live oaks which, as Governor Dobbs pointed out in 1761, were "excellent for Ship Timber being all crooked and very lasting. . . ." ⁷⁶ Thus the Beaufort area was well

⁷³ "Journal of a French Traveller," 733-734.

⁷⁴ "Journal of a French Traveller," 733-734.

⁷⁵ Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, 1784-1789. No pitch was exported from the town of Beaufort during the period covered by these records. This does not mean, however, that pitch was not produced in the area, since these records cover such a short period and apply to such a small area. In fact, the statement made by the French traveler in 1765 that "great quantities of tarr and pitch [are] raised in this part of the country" indicates that pitch was produced near Beaufort. Undoubtedly, some of this pitch, as well as the other naval stores produced in the Beaufort area, did not appear in the export records as it was used by the local shipbuilding industry.

The quantity of naval stores exported from the town of Beaufort was small compared to the quantity exported from all of the Port Beaufort customs district. For instance, in 1764, 30,403 barrels of tar, 3,303 barrels of turpentine, 3,721 barrels of pitch, 619 barrels of rosin, and 1,279 barrels of spirits of turpentine were exported from the Port Beaufort customs district. Corbitt, "Imports and Exports at Beaufort, 1764," 412.

⁷⁶ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 606-607.

supplied with the natural resources necessary for a shipbuilding industry.

Evidence indicates that the residents of the Beaufort area made use of these natural resources at a very early date. As early as 1713 George Bell contracted to instruct two servant boys, Charles Cogdell and George Cogdell, "in ye building of Vessells."⁷⁷ In 1732 William Borden moved from Rhode Island to the Beaufort area and entered the shipbuilding business,⁷⁸ and in 1752 there was a "ship yard" at Harkers Island, an island located a few miles east of Beaufort.⁷⁹ The occupations of "shipwright" and "ship carpenter" were used quite frequently to describe the trades of those who purchased property in the Beaufort area.⁸⁰ Though records are lacking which reveal the extent of this activity in the Beaufort area, Governor Tryon reported in 1767 that shipbuilding in North Carolina as a whole was "not considerable, the largest built vessel not exceeding two hundred tons burden."⁸¹ The average size of the vessels built at Beaufort was very likely represented by one advertised in the May 15, 1778, issue of the *North-Carolina Gazette*:

The subscriber [Abiel Chaney] has for sale at the town of Beaufort, Carteret County, a new vessel on the stocks, well calculated for a fast sailer, and will be completely finished by the 15th of May next. Her demensions are 55 feet keel strait rabber, 11 feet rake forward, 18 and a half feet beam, and 7 feet and half hold.⁸²

The status which shipbuilding attained in the economy of the Beaufort area in the years immediately after the Revolutionary War is revealed by the following statement made in 1810:

The principal trade carried on here [in Beaufort] is Ship building in which they have acquired a very considerable reputation both on account of the solidity of the materials & the Judgment and Skill of their workmen as well in modelling as in compleating their Vessels. Live oak and Cedar are the timbers principally used but the stock is by no means so abundant as it has been. Some of the swiftest sailers & best built Vessels in the United States have been launch'd here, particularly the Ship Minerva a well known Packet between Charleston & Newyork. There are at present five Vessels on the Stocks two of which are ready to be launch'd.⁸³

⁷⁷ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 172.

⁷⁸ William K. Boyd (ed.), "Some North Carolina Tracts of the 18th Century, II, William Borden's 'Address to the Inhabitants of North Carolina,'" *North Carolina Historical Review*, II (April, 1925), 189.

⁷⁹ Carteret Deed Book, E, 299-300.

⁸⁰ For example, see Carteret Deed Books, E, 299; H, 277, 292, 317.

⁸¹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 429.

⁸² *North-Carolina Gazette*, May 15, 1778.

⁸³ Newsome, "Miscellany from the Thomas Henderson Letter Book," 399.

The fact that Beaufort had won such a reputation by 1810, as well as the fact that its supply of cedar and oak was "by no means so abundant" as it had been, indicates that shipbuilding had been an established industry in the Beaufort area for a long time.

A relatively large percentage of the Beaufort area consisted of tidal marsh. As noted earlier, this marsh land was especially prevalent along the edges of Newport River, North River, Core Sound, and the Sound side of the Outer Banks; and it supported a natural growth of different kinds of grasses and shrubs suitable as pasture for livestock. During the Colonial period cattle, sheep, and hogs were permitted to use these areas as an open range. To be sure, many of these animals were raised for home consumption; but some of them at least were sold either at local or distant markets. Thus, the production of livestock was a factor in the economy of Colonial Beaufort.

The existing records reveal little as to the number of livestock that subsisted in the Beaufort area at any given time during the Colonial period. In 1713 John Shackleford purchased a piece of land near the site where the town of Beaufort was soon to be laid out for "Three Gentle good Cows and Calves . . .";⁸⁴ and before 1730 he had herds of livestock on the section of the Outer Banks east of Topsail Inlet, which he had obtained in 1723.⁸⁵ In 1745 Ephraim Chadwick sold "ten likely cows and calves, [and] two four year old steers" to John Clitherall.⁸⁶ There were cattle at Cape Lookout in 1747 when the Spanish attacked the town of Beaufort, and one of the arguments which Governor Dobbs used during the French and Indian War for the erection of a strong fort at Cape Lookout was that a fort would prevent the enemy from obtaining provisions by simply "shooting the Cattle on the Banks."⁸⁷ Dobbs estimated in 1764 that nearly seven eighths of the cattle of North Carolina had died because of a distemper brought from South Carolina,⁸⁸ but by the end of the Colonial period the number of cattle seems to have increased considerably. In 1776 Robert Williams, a resident of the Beaufort area, was concerned lest "the Numerous herds of Cattle on the Sea Coast . . ." fall into the hands of the British;⁸⁹ and in 1777 Captain John Nelson

⁸⁴ Craven Will Books, A, 11.

⁸⁵ Carteret County Records, Grants, 1717-1724, State Archives, Book D, 4.

⁸⁶ Carteret Deed Books, D, 399.

⁸⁷ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 345-346.

⁸⁸ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1029.

⁸⁹ Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 742. For the location of Williams' residence see a sketch of the Harlowe Creek area reproduced in Milton Franklin Williams, *The Williams History Tracing the Descendants in America of Robert Williams of Ruthin*,

of the Craven County militia was sent to Core Banks to repel the enemy if possible "and by all means to remove the Stocks of Cattle & Sheep so as at every event to prevent their falling in the enemies hands."⁹⁰ The only indication available as to how many of the cattle of the Beaufort area were used for commercial purposes is derived from the export records for the town of Beaufort for the years 1788 and 1789. In a period of ten months during these years four vessels left Beaufort carrying livestock to St. Barthelemy, Guadeloupe, and Hispaniola.⁹¹

Largely because of the scarcity of arable lands, the cultivation of crops in the Beaufort area was not an important economic activity during the Colonial period. Many of the early settlers spoke of their homesites as plantations, but this designation seems to have been used in the loose manner common to the period.

The first record of cultivated crops in the Beaufort area dates from the year 1713, when in the midst of the Tuscarora War a garrison stationed at a certain Shackleford's plantation requested and received "Liberty to plant Corne on ye said plantation."⁹² This corn, however, was grown for home consumption, a pattern of farming which seems to have been dominant throughout the Colonial period. The Frenchman who traveled from Beaufort to New Bern in the spring of 1765 commented that "there was here and there a small vilage and some little farms Dispersd up and Down where they rais nothing but Indian Corn (of which they make their bread) and peas."⁹³ Some of these peas were grown for export as is shown by the fact that one of the vessels which left Beaufort in the fall of 1788 bound for Martinique carried among other things 480 bushels of peas. This, however, was the only shipment of peas made in a period of ten months; one other product of cultivation which was shipped from Beaufort during that period was 200 bushels of potatoes, which were carried to New York.⁹⁴ The only other crop mentioned in the records of the area around Colonial Beaufort was rice. In 1776 Robert Williams described his business as that of rice planting.⁹⁵

North Wales, Who Settled in Carteret County, North Carolina, in 1763 (St. Louis: Privately printed, 1921), 64-66. This sketch was drawn by John S. Williams, the son of Robert Williams, in 1864. See also Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 738, 745-746.

⁹⁰ Clark, *State Records*, XI, 775.

⁹¹ Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, 1784-1789. The sizes of the shipments are not given.

⁹² Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 2. For the location of Shackleford's plantation see Paul, "Colonial Beaufort," 141-142.

⁹³ "Journal of a French Traveller," 734.

⁹⁴ Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, 1784-1789.

⁹⁵ Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 746.

The town of Beaufort was made "a port for the unloading and discharging Vessells" by an order of the Lords Proprietors on April 4, 1722.⁹⁶ This town, its harbor, and Topsail Inlet, which connected the harbor with the ocean, served as a port of entry throughout the rest of the Colonial period.

The order of the Lords Proprietors which made Beaufort a port affected only that area which could be served through Topsail Inlet. Since the inland waterways which led to this inlet did not extend into the interior or make convenient connections with rivers that did, the services of Port Beaufort were restricted to a small area lying along the south and east sides of Carteret Precinct. This area constituted the Port Beaufort customs district, and the offices of the customs officials for this district were established at the town of Beaufort.⁹⁷

The size of the Port Beaufort customs district was greatly enlarged in 1730. In that year the Neuse River estuary, on which the town of New Bern was located and which until 1730 had been a part of the Port Bath customs district, was placed under the jurisdiction of the customs officials of Port Beaufort.⁹⁸ Since vessels bound for the Neuse River and New Bern entered North Carolina's inland waterways through Ocracoke Inlet, located approximately fifty miles northeast of Topsail Inlet, and at no point in their journey entered waterways leading to Topsail Inlet, the change made in 1730 added a second port of entry to the Port Beaufort customs district. Before 1739 this district was again expanded by the inclusion of the area served by vessels entering Bogue and Bear inlets.⁹⁹

For fifteen years after the Neuse River estuary was included in the

⁹⁶ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 454.

⁹⁷ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 169-171. There were usually two officials connected with the enforcement of trade regulations at each of the ports of North Carolina. The deputy naval officer's responsibilities were to keep records of imports and exports, make lists of vessels entering and clearing, and examine certificates of bond and registration. This officer was responsible to the naval officer of the colony, who was in turn responsible to the governor. The other official, the collector of customs, was responsible to the British commissioners of customs. His primary responsibility was to collect duties on imports and exports. See Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina*, 39-41. Port Beaufort's first collector of the customs was Christopher Gale, who was appointed to this position when the port was established. See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 561. The first record of the appointment of a deputy naval officer for Port Beaufort is dated 1724, when Governor Burrington appointed John Sparrow to that position. Carteret Court Minutes, I, 3. Port Beaufort did not have a comptroller before 1767. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 535.

⁹⁸ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 169.

⁹⁹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 374. These two inlets were located at the west end of Bogue Sound about twenty-five miles west of Beaufort harbor. The area served by these two inlets was small. Thus this inclusion was not as important to the Port Beaufort customs district as was the inclusion of New Bern.

Port Beaufort customs district the customs officials for the district continued to maintain headquarters at the town of Beaufort. As Governor Burrington pointed out in 1736, this arrangement caused quite a bit of inconvenience for masters of vessels trading at Neuse River. Writing to the commissioners of the customs in London in 1736, Burrington asserted that the masters of such vessels had, since 1730, "been forced to ride forty miles [on horseback] to enter and clear at Beaufort thro a low watery and uninhabited Country which after great Rains is not passable in many Days." He contended that the town of Beaufort was the most convenient place for the collection of customs duties for vessels entering Topsail Inlet but that in his opinion Neuse River should not be a part of the Port Beaufort customs district.¹⁰⁰ Burrington's suggestion to exclude Neuse River from the Port Beaufort customs district was not heeded, but in 1746 an alternate solution to this problem of having two distinct ports of entry in one customs district was provided by the appointment of an additional collector for the Port Beaufort district. Thomas Lovick, who had served as collector of customs for Port Beaufort since before 1734,¹⁰¹ was to continue "to reside at Core Sound, to receive the . . . Duty on the . . . Liquors and Rice, imported in such Vessel or Vessels which shall lade or unlade in Core Sound, or Bogue Inlet, . . ." while James Macklewean was to receive the same duties for "Vessels which shall lade or unlade in Neus River."¹⁰² This arrangement was continued until the death of Thomas Lovick in about 1759.¹⁰³ By that time the volume of oceanborne trade handled at New Bern on Neuse River had become much greater than that handled at Beaufort, and from then until the end of the Colonial period New Bern was the headquarters for the Port Beaufort customs district.¹⁰⁴

The few customs records available for the Port Beaufort customs district during the Colonial period do not reveal the percentage of

¹⁰⁰ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 169-171.

¹⁰¹ Vice-Admiralty Papers, I, 68.

¹⁰² Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 270-271.

¹⁰³ Thomas Lovick was a justice of the peace for Carteret County in 1758. Carteret Court Minutes, II, 237. His will was probated in the June, 1759, session of the Carteret County Court, at which time he was pronounced "Deceased." Carteret Court Minutes, II, 240.

¹⁰⁴ Dill cites the year 1739 as the approximate time when New Bern began its rise as a port town. Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., "Eighteenth Century New Bern: A History of the Town and Craven County, 1700-1800," Part V, "Political and Commercial Rise of New Bern," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (January, 1946), 63-64. By the 1750's the term *Port Beaufort* was at times used to refer exclusively to the area between Ocracoke Inlet and the town of New Bern on Neuse River, and many of the acts which were passed by the Assembly in the 1750's and the 1760's for facilitating Port Beaufort applied only to the area between Ocracoke Inlet and New Bern. See, for example, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 375-378.

the trade of that district that entered through Topsail Inlet and was handled at the town of Beaufort.¹⁰⁵ Customs reports are available, however, for a period of five years just after the end of the Revolutionary War which pertain exclusively to the port at the town of Beaufort.¹⁰⁶ These reports, along with reports for the rest of the Port Beaufort customs district, reveal that between July, 1785, and March, 1790, less than 10 percent of the oceanborne commerce of the Port Beaufort customs district was handled at the town of Beaufort.¹⁰⁷ Proceeding on the assumption that this percentage had not radically changed since the closing decades of the Colonial period, it must be concluded that the volume of commerce handled at the town of Beaufort was quite small indeed. For instance, during the year ending October 1, 1764, only 127 vessels entered the Port Beaufort customs district, the great majority of which were sloops and schooners rather than the larger ships, snows, and brigs.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, during the 28 months that ended January 5, 1770, a total of 282 vessels with a tonnage of 9,909 entered, while 283 vessels with a tonnage of 9,931 cleared the customs at Port Beaufort.¹⁰⁹ On the basis of these figures an average of only ten vessels each month entered the Port Beaufort customs district during the last decades of the Colonial period, and these ten vessels had an average tonnage of about 35 tons each. The town of Beaufort, with less than 10 percent of this trade, was quite insignificant as far as its contribution to North Carolina's oceanborne commerce was concerned.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ These records refer only to Port Beaufort. Since there were three distinct parts of that port after the 1730's, there is no way to determine which part these records concern. There are no records for Port Beaufort for the period before 1730, when it included only the area that could be served through Topsail Inlet.

¹⁰⁶ Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, 1784-1790.

¹⁰⁷ Between July, 1785, and March, 1790, an average of slightly less than two vessels each month entered at the town of Beaufort. A similar number entered through Bogue and Bear inlets, while the number entering at New Bern averaged nearly fifteen each month. Thus, during the period under consideration, the town of Beaufort attracted only about 10.5 percent of the vessels that entered the Port Beaufort customs district. Those vessels entering at the town of Beaufort brought smaller amounts of taxable commodities, and probably smaller cargoes, than those entering at New Bern. For instance, the average amount of duty collected on each vessel entering at New Bern between 1785 and 1790 was approximately £18, while the average amount collected from each vessel entering at the town of Beaufort during the same period was only about £9. The average duty collected from vessels entering Bogue and Bear inlets during this period was about £6. On the basis of these figures one must conclude that the proportion of Port Beaufort's commerce that was handled at the town of Beaufort was well below 10 percent.

¹⁰⁸ Corbitt, "Imports and Exports at Beaufort, 1764," 412.

¹⁰⁹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 174.

¹¹⁰ Even if Beaufort's proportion of Port Beaufort's commerce was larger at an earlier date, as was indicated by Governor Josiah Martin in 1773 (see Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 636-637), its total volume was still quite small since the total volume of commerce of the Port Beaufort customs district was much smaller at that time. See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 314; VI, 968.

The few vessels that traded at the town of Beaufort during the Colonial period came from a variety of ports. Before 1719 a certain Captain Stone rented Craney Island, later named Harkers Island, from Thomas Pollock for "100 weight of Cocoa. . . ." ¹¹¹ Stone's possession of this commodity indicates some trade at that time between the Beaufort area and the West Indies. Before 1731 three New England vessels were seized by the customs officials at Beaufort because of improper registration; ¹¹² in 1734 the sloop "Middleborough," which had loaded at Boston, and the brig "George," which had loaded at Dublin, Ireland, brought cargoes to the town of Beaufort. ¹¹³ In 1747, in the midst of King George's War, a sloop from Rhode Island, the "King George," entered Beaufort harbor with a Spanish prize, the "Elizabeth and Annah," which had been captured at St. Thomas Island in the West Indies; ¹¹⁴ and in 1759 a vessel named "St. Andrew" arrived at Beaufort with a cargo from London. ¹¹⁵ Other ports, both on the North American continent and in the West Indies, were also represented. ¹¹⁶

The items which these vessels brought to Beaufort were also varied but consisted mainly of those necessities that could not be produced from the natural resources of the Beaufort area. For instance, the cargo which was brought to Beaufort from London in the "St. Andrew" in 1759 and which was advertised for sale for "Cash, or Tar, Deer Skins, or Furr, Etc." consisted of the following items:

London Cordage, Tinklingburghs, Irish Prizes, fine brown Cloth, Sail Twine, Worsted Stocking Breeches Patterns, red and black; ready made Cotton and Check Shirts; strip'd double breasted Flannel Jackets; Flannel and Check Drawers; long and short Trowsers and Frocks; white cup and Saucers, . . . Bowls, Mugs, Plates and Dishes, . . . Tortoise Shell Cups and Saucers, Teapots. . . . Glasses of all Sorts, Loaf Sugar, [and] Powder [sugar]. . . . ¹¹⁷

Molasses, sugar, rum, and wine were especially important imported

¹¹¹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 388. For the original name of Harkers Island see Moseley's "Map of Port Beaufort"; and Paul, "Colonial Beaufort," 150*n*.

¹¹² Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 226-227.

¹¹³ Vice-Admiralty Papers, I, 65-68.

¹¹⁴ Vice-Admiralty Papers, III, 5, 17-21.

¹¹⁵ *NOth. Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), October 18, 1759, hereinafter cited as *NOth. Carolina Gazette*.

¹¹⁶ In 1785 vessels came to Beaufort from the following American ports: Philadelphia; Charleston; Baltimore; New York; New London; Portsmouth, Virginia; and Middleton, Massachusetts. One vessel came from Rhode Island, but the specific port was not determined. Also, vessels came from the following West Indies locations: Guadeloupe, Jamaica, New Providence, St. Thomas, and Turks Island. Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, 1784-1790.

¹¹⁷ *NOth. Carolina Gazette*, October 18, 1759.

commodities.¹¹⁸ Salt, used for seasoning food and for the preservation of fish and meat, was also an important import.¹¹⁹

The items exported from Beaufort consisted mainly of the products of the area, fish, naval stores, livestock, and some vegetables. Most of the vessels carrying exports went either to the West Indies or to English Colonial ports on the North American continent.¹²⁰

During the early years of Beaufort's history, a few observers of Colonial conditions looked upon the town with its relatively safe and accessible harbor as having the potential for becoming a commercial center. For example, in 1737 John Brickell considered Beaufort to have a pleasant prospect,¹²¹ while six years earlier another observer had predicted that it would become the colony's "principal port."¹²² As has been demonstrated above, however, Beaufort's anticipated commercial supremacy failed to become a reality. The Frenchman who visited the town in 1765 was not impressed by its economic achievements,¹²³ and in 1773 Governor Martin commented that "there are no persons of condition or substance in it. . . ." ¹²⁴

Undoubtedly, there were many factors involved in Beaufort's failure to become an important commercial center. North Carolina's other ports were to a certain degree isolated from the ocean,¹²⁵ but the port at the town of Beaufort was isolated from the interior. No large river flowed down to it bringing the produce of a large section of the Coastal Plain and Piedmont, as was the case with Wilmington, Brunswick, New Bern, Bath, and Edenton. Furthermore, since it was located on a peninsula, the edges of which were dissected by many creeks and bays and the center of which was dominated by swampland,¹²⁶ land transportation of bulky commodities between Beaufort and the interior was almost impossible; and since other ports were more accessible to

¹¹⁸ During the year ending in October, 1766, 27,490 gallons of rum and wine were imported into the Port Beaufort customs district. Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, 1763-1789. During a period of one month in 1785, 1,032 gallons of rum, 1,000 gallons of molasses, and 985 pounds of sugar were imported at the town of Beaufort. Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, 1784-1790.

¹¹⁹ Clark, *State Records*, XI, 624; XXII, 933.

¹²⁰ These statements are based upon export records for the town of Beaufort during the years 1784-1789. See Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, 1784-1789.

¹²¹ Brickell, *Natural History*, 8.

¹²² From "The Importance of the British Plantations in America" (London, 1731), 71, as quoted in Francis L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina from 1663 to 1729* (Fayetteville: E. J. Hale & Son, 2 volumes, 1858), II, 558-559.

¹²³ He commented that "the inhabitants seem miserable. . . ." "Journal of a French Traveller," 733.

¹²⁴ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 636-637.

¹²⁵ See Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina*, 3-4.

¹²⁶ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 169.

the interior, such transportation was most improbable. In this situation, the only area which Beaufort could effectively serve as a port was that lying along the edges of the short rivers and sounds which led to the town. With its services restricted to this small area of limited natural resources, Beaufort never had a large quantity of commodities for export nor a large market for which it could import.

The limitation imposed upon the town of Beaufort by its isolation from the interior was clearly seen by Governor Dobbs soon after his arrival in the colony. On January 4, 1755, in a report to the Board of Trade in London on the "Wants & Defects of the Province," he commented that while Topsail Inlet was "a very safe Harbour with deep Water and no Bar . . ." it had "no navigable River" leading to it, and therefore "no considerable Trade . . . [could] be carried from thence. . . ." ¹²⁷

As late as 1764 Governor Dobbs had nothing new to report to the Board of Trade concerning Beaufort's commercial capacity,¹²⁸ but in 1766 efforts were initiated which, if they had been carried to completion, would have given Colonial Beaufort a waterway connecting it with the interior. On November 13, 1766, Richard Cogdell, one of Carteret County's representatives in the Assembly,¹²⁹ introduced a bill for the construction of a canal connecting the head of Harlowe Creek, which flowed into the north side of Newport River approximately five miles above Beaufort, with the head of Clubfoot Creek, which flowed into the south side of Neuse River approximately twenty miles below New Bern.¹³⁰ The distance between the heads of these two creeks was less than ten miles, and an overland passageway between them was already in use.¹³¹ A canal connecting these two creeks would not only have given Beaufort access to Neuse River and the interior, it would also have made Beaufort the port of entry for cargoes bound for New Bern, then the capital of the colony. Furthermore, it would have cut in half the distance by water from New Bern to the ocean. This canal, however, never became a reality during the Colonial period. The bill initiated by Cogdell was enacted into law in 1766, but instead of providing that the canal be financed out of public funds, it was to be financed by "many Public Spirited Gentlemen [who] being willing to further a Work of such an interesting Nature to a Commercial Country, have offered to contribute to the same, by either paying in

¹²⁷ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 316.

¹²⁸ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1028.

¹²⁹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 342.

¹³⁰ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 368.

¹³¹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 345.

Sums of Money, or sending their Slaves to Work in cutting the said Canal. . . .¹³² Although the commissioners who were appointed to oversee the construction of this canal were instructed to "immediately employ Hands to work on the said Canal" as soon as they had "received any Subscriptions of Monies to carry on the same,"¹³³ there is no indication that work ever began under the provisions of this act.¹³⁴ Thus, Beaufort was compelled to remain commercially isolated from the rest of the colony, a port of only local significance throughout the Colonial period. This factor, more than any other, explains its lack of growth as a Colonial town.

¹³² Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 684-685.

¹³³ Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 684-685.

¹³⁴ In 1783 the state legislature reenacted the law of 1766 with only minor revisions. Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 538. In 1784 a new act was passed which allowed private contractors to assume the task of constructing the canal and gave them the right to charge a toll for its use. Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 634. The canal was eventually constructed under the provisions of this act. See Clifford Reginald Hinshaw, Jr., "North Carolina Canals Before 1860," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXV (January, 1948), 1-15.

PAPERS FROM THE SIXTY-SIXTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

WINSTON-SALEM, DECEMBER 2, 1966

INTRODUCTION

For the first time in its history, the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association held its annual meeting outside the city of Raleigh. To help observe the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Salem, the various associations which comprise Culture Week agreed to hold their 1966 sessions in Winston-Salem.

Papers presented at the December meeting are being published in this issue of the *North Carolina Historical Review* as has been the custom for many years. Only the address by Dr. William J. Murtagh of the National Trust for Historic Preservation on "German Architecture in the United States, with Specific Attention to the Moravians" has been omitted. The editors felt that the address without its accompanying slides was so incomplete as to be meaningless to readers.

Information on the business sessions and programs of Culture Week societies was included in the January, 1967, issue of *Carolina Comments*.

REVIEW OF NORTH CAROLINA FICTION, 1965-1966

BY RALPH HARDEE RIVES*

I would like to begin by paying tribute to a distinguished North Carolina author who did not have a book in the 1966 competition for any literary award. I feel, however, that this is an appropriate time and place to express congratulations, appreciation, indebtedness, and love to North Carolina's "First Lady of Literature." She has been called "the Thomas Wolfe of our Coastal Plain." I am referring, of course, to Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris, who in May, 1966, was the recipient of the North Carolina Award for the distinction she has given the literature of our state. Mrs. Harris is a writer of intelligence, compassion, and artistry. "To Be Rather Than To Seem" is a motto that as appropriately fits her as it does her beloved state.

No area in the world is more misunderstood or more misrepresented in literature and on the stage than the American South. Exaggerated caricatures of decadent, backward southerners who live pathetically in a past that never quite existed have too long been present in the works of many skillful but insensitive authors and critics from both the North and the South. Mrs. Harris writes with amazing objectivity and honesty but always with understanding and appreciation of the problems and personalities peculiar to her area of the United States, and her seven distinguished novels have acquainted thousands of readers with a whole region and a whole way of life that is unique and good and rich in tradition. And, on this occasion, I would salute Mrs. Harris for her personal contributions to the cultural heritage of North Carolina.

Mrs. Harris—or "Miss Kelly" as she is affectionately known by those most closely associated with her—merits special recognition and commendation for the unselfish interest she has displayed in encouraging new writers to express themselves. Since 1963 she has taught a creative

* Dr. Rives is associate professor of English at East Carolina College, Greenville; this report was given at the morning meeting of the Literary and Historical Association, December 2, 1966.

writing course at Chowan College, and the results have been most significant and for "Miss Kelly" very rewarding. Several students have had the pleasant experience of seeing their works published in newspapers and magazines, and two novels are now in the final stages of preparation for publication.

I wish to commend Sam Ragan of the *Raleigh News and Observer* for discovering and presenting a wide variety of new talent through his column, "Southern Accent," which was initiated in 1948. Mr. Ragan has given consistent encouragement to countless unknown writers, including many college students, by publishing and commenting on their works along with the work of artists who have already arrived. His recognition and praise of various college literary magazines has been especially noteworthy.

I also wish to express my personal appreciation to Richard Walser of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh for his distinguished contributions toward making the inhabitants of this state aware of their cultural and literary history. No other single person has done more to preserve the story of our literati than Professor Walser, and his various volumes and anthologies provide within themselves an almost sufficient bibliography for a college course in North Carolina literature.

During the past two years, in the month of August, Bernadette Hoyle has sponsored the Tar Heel Writers' Roundtable in Raleigh with an attendance at each annual meeting of approximately one hundred writers of varying degrees of experience, interest, and ability. The talent displayed and the effervescent enthusiasm of the students enrolled in the classes reflect the definitely favorable climate for creative writing in North Carolina at this time. Mrs. Hoyle is to be saluted for her excellent organization of the various sessions and for recruiting each year a noteworthy "faculty" drawn from both within and outside the boundaries of the state. Members of the roundtable hear successful writers discuss their methods; they learn special writing techniques, share their problems, meet outstanding authors and critics and, most important of all, gain inspiration.

I would also like to pay tribute to those men and women in North Carolina who are responsible for the numerous writers clubs and creative writing groups that have been organized on practically every college and university campus and in many towns and cities.

The books which were entered in the 1966 Sir Walter Raleigh competition varied greatly in length, style, purpose, and appeal. There were a few works by authors whose names are well known throughout

the United States and even in foreign countries, and there were first works by interesting, talented, and promising newcomers. There were several books by authors from the academic world, several written by full-time journalists, and many which were penned by housewives and others of various occupations. Some of the books were published by nationally known publishing houses, while many others were privately printed. Some of the books were geared toward the tastes and interests of adults while a very significant number were oriented toward the ever-increasing juvenile reading market. The works tended to fall largely within the areas of the novel, incidental stories, and poetry.

The dearth of creative works in the fields of drama and the short story gives some reason for concern and is perhaps an indication that we need to give more impetus toward playwriting and short story writing in our creative writing classes and clubs. Surely at no time in our history have there been more significant issues or themes to stimulate the writing of successful comedies or tragedies, historical plays or folk plays. As an old "ham" myself, I tremble at the thought of North Carolinians not producing a single play—not even a bad play, which after all is better than no play at all—in 1966.

The themes of many of the books and poems published in 1966 were specifically related to North Carolina, a fact which does not at all disturb me, as it apparently does some critics, for I believe in the truth and wisdom of the old adage "know thyself." If we as a homogenous group of Americans who have the unique heritage of being Carolinian and southern would be able to think and act intelligently beyond our borders—and we must—we must first be able to understand clearly and appreciate that which is within our borders. The wide diversity in topics, interests, and media of communication, the diversity of our own geography, the increasing cosmopolitanism of our native writers, and the healthy influence of our "adopted" writers who have made North Carolina their home should prevent us from becoming too inbred, too restricted, or too narrow in vision and scope. I am pleased that so many North Carolina writers want to write about this state and I say bravo to them! I cannot imagine a Virginian not writing about Virginia or a Texan not somehow bringing Texas into his work, or a true New Yorker not using Manhattan for a locale. Why, then, should we be apologetic about our interest in our state?

It is a popular pastime nowadays to decry the backwardness, the ignorance, the unhappiness, and the tremendous poverty of North

Carolina in particular and the South in general. We are portrayed by many critics as a people who are unlettered, untutored, and completely unaware of the world beyond our borders and incapable of understanding most of what occurs within our borders. The story of the South, to many of our critics, is a tragic, unfortunate chapter in the annals of American history. While on a lecture tour of Great Britain in 1962, in which I stressed the unique social and cultural ties which unite that nation with our section, I was told by one Englishman, "I am glad to hear a southern viewpoint; our last speaker from America came from Ohio and said that she was ashamed to be an American because of the South."

I do not consider myself either a professional southerner or professional Carolinian, though I am proud of being both southern and Carolinian. I am proud of the history of the South and of the history of North Carolina, and I happen to be a defender, not necessarily of the status quo, but of our unique heritage and tradition. I am not, of course, blind to our faults and shortcomings or to the dark pages in our history but my study of history in general reveals similar faults and mistakes and dark pages in the history and development of any region or culture or civilization.

Thad Stem, Jr., the well-known essayist, journalist, poet, and critic, of Oxford, a master in the use of the metaphor and simile, is an author who is unashamedly proud of his state and its history. In his *Spur Line*, with its unique arrangement of thirty-eight poems and an equal number of prose selections, he not only reflects distinctive artistry with his pen but interprets with romantic nostalgia images of North Carolina several decades ago. He does, indeed, take rural and small-town manners and customs, recolors and revitalizes what is often considered commonplace, and makes them glowing and fresh.

Stem possesses a keen insight into both the logical and emotional behavior of man, and the society of which he writes and with which he is so obviously familiar is not an impersonal, cynical, bitter, revolting society. Much of what he describes is symbolic, and he uses many effective historical allusions and much impressive imagery. In an age of bizarre beatnik literature, his work is refreshingly unaffected without being naive, uncomplex without being obvious. Thad Stem's work reflects wisdom and humility. With extraordinary deftness he tells of the lazy Wednesday afternoons he has known in his hometown. He picturesquely describes the magic quality of the old-time trains. He comments on such diverse topics as superstitions, the school celebra-

tions on Sidney Lanier's birthday when he was a child, Sam Jones, the famous Methodist evangelist; and he recalls the eccentricities of many small town characters who are familiar stereotypes found throughout eastern Carolina.

Though there is a universal quality and appeal about *Spur Line*, the reader is ever aware of the overtones of the author's native Oxford in Granville County. When he candidly declares that he is "one of a few middle-aged Americans who still lives on the street on which he was born," one readily realizes that this fact contributes in no small way to the perspective of the work.

Another native North Carolinian who hails from "the same neck of the woods" (to be colloquial) as Mr. Stem is the talented, versatile, and quite youthful Reynolds Price. Mr. Price won national attention and acclaim a few years ago with his movingly tender and beautifully phrased masterpiece, *A Long and Happy Life*. His 1966 publication, *A Generous Man*, though perhaps not altogether as outstanding in merit as its predecessor, brought further distinction to Mr. Price because of its precision of language and insight into human character. As Granville Hicks observed in the *Saturday Review*, the book is "rich, original and profound."

Ben Haas of Raleigh brought forth *The Last Valley*, a skillful work of some length which is worthy of praise and note. Set in a beautifully wooded valley high in Appalachia, with "its forests and waters still untouched by the bulldozers and dredgers," *The Last Valley* is concerned with character in conflict and it reflects the same keen talent and ability as Mr. Haas' earlier novel, *Look Away, Look Away*, and is not nearly so controversial in theme.

Professor Fred Chappell of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro published his second novel, *The Inkling*, a book which reflects the same imaginativeness and realism which characterized his *It Is Time, Lord*, published three years ago. This new work reveals a distinguished ability to create "a structure of great subtlety and complexity that reflects, as a microcosm, passions and fears and dreams that are universal."

Another young writer whose prose has captured the attention of distinguished reviewers, is Heather Ross Miller, an Elizabethtown housewife whose published works include articles, stories, and two novels in addition to poetry. Her second novel, this year's *Tenants of the House*, is a book filled with rich symbolism, originality, and conviction.

Peggy Hoffmann of Raleigh, a North Carolinian by adoption, produced two works in 1966, both of which reveal her as a serious, dedicated, and talented writer. *A Forest of Feathers*, her first novel, treats with poignancy, sensitivity, and deep perception the troubled mind and heart of an unforgettable—yet nameless—girl who is mentally ill. Mrs. Hoffmann tells the story with honesty, imagination, and bitter humor, but, most of all, with tender pathos and understanding. Her versatility as an author is further evidenced in her book *Shift to High!*, a juvenile work which tells of the exciting escapades of three teen-age boys on an automobile excursion in North Carolina, a journey which turns out to be, in reality, a journey into maturity.

Manly Wade Wellman of Chapel Hill, indisputably one of the state's most prolific authors, published *Battle of Bear Paw Gap*, the third in a trilogy of historical novels of the Revolutionary period aimed largely toward young people. This latest work is full of dangerous adventures, brave frontiersmen, and Indians involved in the establishment of Bear Paw Gap in the North Carolina mountains.

A dramatic horse story, entitled *A Dash of Pepper*, written by Thelma Harrington Bell, was vividly enhanced by a series of distinguished drawings. Mrs. Bell is the author of six other works of juvenile fiction.

Lewis W. Green's *The Year of the Swan* is an original Chinese fable also enhanced by eight original woodcuts and bamboo-designed borders around the pages of type.

The Cape Fear area furnished the inspiration for Ethel Herring's booklet, *About Turtles and Things—Near Fort Caswell*. This collection of autobiographical stories relates some of the things which the author and her family have learned over two decades about their favorite vacation spot.

Three other books which further demonstrate the inspiration North Carolinians receive from the history, geography, and people of their state, is evidenced by William S. Powell's *North Carolina*, Richard Walser and Julia Montgomery Street's *North Carolina Parade: Stories of History and People*, and Annie Sutton Cameron's booklet on *Hillsborough and the Regulators*.

Mr. Powell's book, effectively illustrated with a variety of photographs, is a patriot's tribute to the Old North State and is quite understandably subjective in content. It is readable and it is worth reading. For friends living out of state or out of this country I recommend this book as a possible gift.

The Walser-Street anthology of North Carolina stories is oriented toward the interest level of the intermediate grade student who may wish to learn more of our state history. The youthful reader will make the acquaintance of such exciting and diversified individuals as Virginia Dare, Blackbeard, Daniel Boone, Flora Macdonald, Andrew Johnson, Buck Duke, Thomas Wolfe, and Clarence Poe.

Miss Cameron's account of Colonial Hillsborough, "capital of the Carolina back country," sheds new insight and knowledge into the events surrounding the Regulator movement. It is the type of informative, readable, documented booklet that should be written about every historic town in North Carolina.

Another book aimed largely toward the reading interests of teen-age boys is Robinson Barnwell's *Head Into the Wind*. Mrs. Barnwell, a former high school teacher, possesses not only exceptional writing ability but an unusual understanding and empathy for the problems and loneliness of adolescence. She has written with poignancy of the emotional maturity of a thirteen-year-old lad forced to adjust to the death of his father.

It is significant that numerous North Carolina writers have produced and are producing books of poetry. Not all the poems are great; in fact, some of them are not even good, by critical standards, but they are poems and they are very real expressions of a very real creative urge. Many of the lyrics are marked by a freshness of theme, meticulous craftsmanship, and a poetic honesty.

The poems in Dorothy Bell Kauffman's book, *The Inheritance of My Fathers*, recall the history, folklore and spirit of southeastern North Carolina and recreate the Cape Fear country of a bygone era. *For All the Lost and Lonely*, by Edward Dixon Garner, is a delightful collection of singing verses that disclose a love of nature and intimate acquaintance with the mountains and mountain people. Sallie Nixon's booklet, *Surely Goodness and Mercy*, contains poems which are, in the words of the author, "a simple testament of an abiding faith in God, and a growing one in man." Victor R. Small, a medical doctor, has produced *Over My Shoulder*, his second book of poetry, which also contains two prose tales, a work which reveals irony, romance, wry humor, all with a nostalgic charm and perceptive depth. Betty V. Stoffel's second published work, *Splendid Moments*, is admittedly written from a woman's point of view and discloses keen spiritual insights and compassion fused into "a poetic profile of human values and

emotions." *Poems: Words of Wisdom*, by Milford R. Ballance, contains some twenty-one poems ranging over a wide spectrum of themes, and Leona Hayes Chunn's *Rouse With the Dawn* is a collection of verse which prompted Archibald Rutledge to declare: "Here we have to deal with one of the rarest of human beings—a true poet."

Having had the unique opportunity to become acquainted with these various works of North Carolina authors this year, I must admit to a general feeling of optimism. And, because of this optimism, I wish to conclude with a prediction.

Among the classes which I teach from time to time in my role as a professor of English is a survey course in American literature wherein the content is selected from the writings of the earliest Puritans of the seventeenth century through the works of Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, Emerson, and Lowell. In addition to learning something about those writers and their respective contributions to literature, the students also learn that at certain specific periods in our history there were cultural centers where the intellectual climate produced a "colony" or "school" of distinguished writers whose literary works reflected and affected the temper of the times. Philadelphia, Concord, Cambridge, and Charleston were such centers. I always make a point of explaining to my students why North Carolina and the South produced so few writers during those periods, why the intellectual climate here produced statesmen rather than writers, and why orators instead of literary figures flourished.

I predict with absolute certainty that students in the twenty-first century, whether in Idaho, Alaska, England, Austria, Australia, or even on the moon, will read in their survey courses of American literature that during the mid-twentieth century North Carolina—as a state—was a literary center with a school or colony of writers whose works increased in importance and value with the passage of years. And those students will read of, about, and from Paul Green, Thomas Wolfe, Bernice Kelly Harris, Betty Smith, Sam Ragan, Thad Stem, Jr., LeGette Blythe, Glenn Tucker, Richard Walser, and many, many others. And the sophomores and juniors of that distant day will, upon reading the works of these writers, find their horizons broadened, their knowledge increased, their faith in humanity restored or strengthened, and their appreciation of southern civilization sharpened, while they are learning to develop their own personalities and to find their own souls.

THE MORAVIANS AND WACHOVIA

BY KENNETH G. HAMILTON*

The founding fathers of the United States chose for its official motto a Latin phrase, *E pluribus unum*, thereby asserting their faith that out of the former thirteen American colonies they would forge one single, truly united nation. Similarly every commonwealth which forms a part of this nation is in its turn made up of many communities, each with individual characteristics whereby it enriches the life of the whole. That fact has provided the guidelines for this paper. It will endeavor to stress some of the distinctive features of Winston-Salem, a community, which in its formative years, at least, certainly was in many ways unique in North Carolina. It will also suggest how the community thus fashioned has made its contribution through the years to the state of which it is a part.

Many persons are familiar with the series of volumes published successively by the North Carolina Historical Commission and the State Department of Archives and History under the title *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. They will agree that Winston-Salem has an almost embarrassing wealth of archival material for the historian to draw upon. The manuscripts date back to the very beginning of this city, then called "Salem," and portray a unique settlement in the rolling hills of the Piedmont district.

This community was set apart from others from its very inception. It did not originate like so many of its neighbors through the coming together of numbers of people, chiefly strangers to each other, who located at a given spot without prior design and then formed a town out of the varied elements which were available to them.

January 6, 1766, marked the actual beginning of Salem. But at least as early as November, 1750, leading Moravians in Herrnhut, Germany, had weighed the pros and cons of establishing a colony in North

* Since retiring from the executive board of the Northern Province of the Moravian church and from his position as provincial archivist, Bishop Hamilton has resided in Winston-Salem, where he devotes full time to work on the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*; Bishop Hamilton spoke at the morning meeting of the Literary and Historical Association, December 2, 1966.

Der
Evangelischen
Brüder = Gemeinde
zu
S A L E M
brüderliches Einverständnis
über derselben
Ordnungen
und ihrer
Mitglieder und Einwohner
Verhalten
nach
Christi Sinn

The title page of the "Brotherly Agreement" of the Salem Moravian Congregation. This document contains the principles of conduct agreed to by its members in 1780. Photograph supplied by the author.

Carolina on land which John, Lord Carteret, Earl of Granville, had offered to sell them on advantageous terms. Before deciding to do so, however, the church fathers commissioned their chief representative in America, Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg, to explore the territory in question to determine whether he could find as much as 100,000 acres of land suitable for their purposes. Ultimately Spangenberg chose an area in what is now Forsyth County. At his suggestion the Moravians named their tract "die Wachau"—or "the Meadowland of

the Wach"—because they thought its watercourses made it resemble an ancestral estate of the Zinzendorfs in Austria. The name became anglicized as "Wachovia."

On August 7, 1753, the deeds to this large tract were signed in London, and on the seventeenth of November that same year the first Moravian settlers came to North Carolina. Before they left Pennsylvania detailed plans had been evolved for parceling out most of Wachovia to members of the church who, it was hoped, would be able to win a livelihood by farming. In the center of the area, however, a town was to be built, where crafts and trades would be cultivated and business fostered. Nearly thirteen years passed following the arrival of the first colonists before the authorities of the church agreed on a site for the central community. In the interval drafts had been made and rejected and a final plan for the new town adopted, before an ax bit into the first tree on its site. The direction of the streets, their various widths, the size of the individual town lots, provisions for a central square, around which the most important community structures were to cluster—all had been agreed upon in the period preceding work on the first house in Salem. Here then was an authenticated instance of town planning in the 1760's.

Not merely the physical form of the projected community had been predetermined, but steps had been taken to assure that all activities would be carried on in it which the church considered basic to its welfare. The cultivation of religious life had been provided for as a matter of course, but also the presence of artisans to labor in essential crafts, together with other individuals dedicated to the schooling of the children of the settlement; a doctor to care for its health; also men capable of directing the musical activities of the community, a phase of its life upon which the early Moravians laid exceptional stress. Thus Salem owed the first facet of its unusual character to its status as a church-related community.

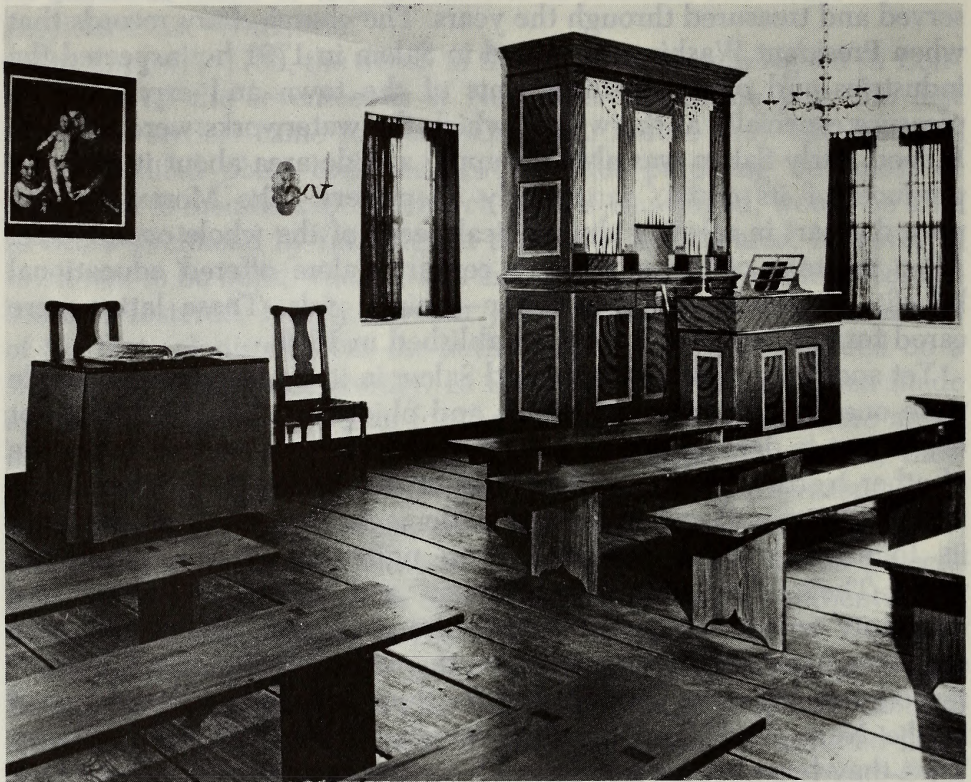
Furthermore—and this obviously was a most important matter—even after the community came into being, when by death or for any other reason it lost an individual who possessed some specialized skill, the church could draw upon its membership in Pennsylvania or Europe to fill the vacancy thus created.

Due to such advantages Salem—this name too had been selected in Europe—enjoyed from its earliest period an unusual degree of self-sufficiency within what was soon to become the state of North Carolina. Handwrought fixtures of wood or metal, tools, pieces of furniture,

guns, musical instruments, and many other items fashioned by early Moravians in Salem can still be found there, where they were preserved and treasured through the years. The church diary records that when President Washington visited in Salem in 1791 he inspected the industries and other establishments of the town and expressed his pleasure especially at the way in which the waterworks were utilized. Indeed, early Salem was able to supply a wide area about it with the products of its crafts, particularly its pottery. The Moravians also played a part in meeting the medical needs of the whole countryside. After the turn of the eighteenth century Salem offered educational benefits to non-Moravian children—mainly girls. These latter were cared for in a boarding school, established in 1802.

Yet another quality distinguished Salem in its early years: its people were one in their religious beliefs and objectives. To say this is not to attempt to deny that strong religious forces were evident in the life of other North Carolina communities of this period. But Salem came into being as a closed Moravian settlement. In matters of the faith its founders without exception were united by common religious views. They called each other "brother" and "sister," and these were no empty terms. To live as a brotherhood of men and women who sought to have their lives conform to the will of their Saviour in every respect had been the main motive for their acquiring so large a tract in the New World and for their locating their town in its center. Thus they hoped to be free from all interference in their chosen way of life, a privilege they had sought for in vain in Europe.

To promote and deepen devotion, the community was organized into so-called "choirs" or divisions. Each group—children, older boys, older girls, single men, single women, married couples, widowers, and widows—had separate leaders, separate devotional exercises, separate instruction, though united congregational worship also had its recognized place in the activities of the community. The single men, the single women, and in some years the widows too shared as much of their daily affairs as possible, each group occupying a "choir house" of its own. When death called away a member of the community, his body was laid to rest with others of his choir who had preceded him, not with members of his family. This practice, incidentally, is still followed in the Moravian God's Acre and constitutes one of the few choir customs still to survive. Another is the announcement of the death of each member of the congregation by the church band's playing



The *saal* in the Single Brothers House in Old Salem, which was used by the unmarried men and boys for their worship and song services. The organ was built by the well-known Pennsylvania organ maker, David Tannenberg, in 1797-1798. It has been fully restored. Photograph reproduced by courtesy of Old Salem, Inc.

three chorale tunes, the second of which indicates the choir to which the deceased had belonged.

For many years those who lived in Salem made little distinction between civil and ecclesiastical authority. The church directed all of the affairs of the community. The people wanted it so, and their leaders saw to it that careful observance of all church regulations was maintained. Quite naturally such a community laid itself open at many points to misunderstanding on the part of its neighbors because of its

dissimilarity to them. In particular the conscientious scruples which the Moravians of the early period cherished against bearing arms or taking oaths could readily be misinterpreted. This was even more true of another guiding principle which they maintained—that of obeying every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake in so far as their consciences would allow. It requires no great effort of the imagination to realize how strangely foreign the Salem community must have seemed to the rest of North Carolina in the 1770's. The demand for political independence from Great Britain, which was surging through the thirteen colonies like a ground swell, was unknown in Salem. The Moravians took little interest in politics. Moreover they owed to Great Britain gratitude for important benefactions; and since many of their brethren lived within the borders of the empire and others labored as missionaries of the gospel in distant British colonies, they purposely sought to avoid any actions which might endanger their position.

Yet another characteristic of Salem set it apart from the rest of North Carolina for a long period. In all important decisions affecting its life and development this community was subject to final control by the central boards of the Moravian church in far-off Germany. At first Salem followed Herrnhut's guidance with implicit trust. This was quite natural. After all, in the early years the great majority of the residents had come from Germany via Pennsylvania or Maryland. They continued to speak German in their homes, their businesses, their church. They brought distinctive German architecture to this part of the state. They cultivated German thoroughness in their crafts and German methods in their schools. Many of the local leaders had been trained in the Moravian institutions of the fatherland. Moreover they sincerely believed that the instructions which they received from their brethren in Germany represented in fact the will of their divine Lord. This conviction was based upon the boards' practice of submitting their problems to the lot before determining upon any specific course of action. They did this as a rule in one of two ways. In the first, the alternatives open to the church would be set down on slips of paper, one of which was then drawn after earnest prayer for God's overruling. Or, the answer could be sought to a single question by drawing one of three slips of paper. In that case the first would bear the word "yes"; the second, "no"; the third would be blank. Drawing the blank was generally interpreted to mean that the time was not yet ripe for any decision in the matter.

In their willingness to be directed from Herrnhut, Salem's attitude differed diametrically from that taken by most of its neighboring communities, in which men coveted self-determination and were quick to rebel against any hint of absentee control.

Finally, let me stress the fact that these unique features in Salem's life persisted for an abnormally long time due to the exclusive character of the town. In a conscious effort to preserve their way of life the Salem Moravians relied chiefly upon three measures. First, the church kept ownership of the Salem land, leasing it to individuals at very moderate terms. The leases, however, were continued subject to their holders' conforming to all regulations adopted by the church council. Those who persisted in refusing to abide by them had to leave the community. In such cases, or even when a lessee moved away of his own free will, he could sell the improvements which he had made upon the land only to some other Moravian who would be acceptable as a resident of the town. If such a purchaser could not be found, the church authorities were under obligation to take over the items in question at a fair price. A second regulation gave the church fathers paternalistic control over businesses and crafts within the town. To assure the heads of families the income they needed for the support of those dependent upon them, the number of individuals allowed to practice any given trade or profession was limited so as to have the supply of goods they produced or services they rendered conform to the local demand. On the other hand, in the interest of the community, prices and profits were also controlled. The third measure, which was intended to maintain the continuity of their way of life, curtailed personal liberty even more drastically. Young Moravians had to choose their life partners from among the membership of the church or from the limited number of friends whom the authorities judged to be qualified for membership.

The average American of our day, including the average American who belongs to the Moravian Church, would consider such controls intolerable. Paradoxically, however, the community which instituted them two hundred years ago saw in them a guarantee of the highest freedom, freedom to follow the precepts of God. Not so their children's children. Slowly, but steadily, dissatisfaction and open disregard of the regulations increased. Finally, in 1856 the lease system was terminated by an overwhelming vote of the church council, and Salem ceased to be an exclusive Moravian center.

Some seven years earlier the church council had voted to sell land lying on the northern outskirts of Salem to the commissioners of the

newly created county of Forsyth. The latter wanted to obtain this site for the county seat because of its central location. A community sprang up around the county buildings; in 1851 it received its name, "Winston." The new town soon outstripped its neighbor in industry and banking, though it is an interesting fact that the earlier settlement also had pioneered in the manufacture of tobacco, textiles, furniture, and had established banking facilities of its own.

More and more rapidly Salem now became assimilated into the ways of the rest of North Carolina, thereby gaining much, but of necessity also losing much of its distinctive character. Friendly relations continued between the two neighboring communities. In 1913 they consolidated and formed the twin city of Winston-Salem, this to their mutual benefit. It goes without saying that Winston-Salem in 1966 owes much also to the earlier decades of Winston's development, prior to the amalgamation of the two towns, but time does not allow a discussion of this subject.

There remains the second phase of my topic, that concerned with the question: "What contributions has Winston-Salem made, due to its distinctive characteristics, to the state of North Carolina?" What may be said in this respect of this city, as it looks back upon two centuries of significant development?

It has promoted education wholeheartedly. Salem Academy and College for Girls and Young Women traces its beginnings back to the day schools which the Moravians organized in their settlement in 1772, when schools were few in the land. Thirty years later the church authorities decided, in response to repeated requests, to establish a boarding school in Salem, which non-Moravian girls would also be encouraged to attend. R. D. W. Connor, in his *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925*, wrote with regard to higher education for women:

The Moravian Church led the way when, in 1802, it founded the Salem Female Academy. This institution occupied the field alone until the educational revival of the [eighteen] forties awakened the interest of the other churches in the problem.

The city is proud to be the home of two other colleges today. In chronological order—in so far as this community's connection with them is concerned—they are Winston-Salem State College and Wake Forest College. The former was begun as the Slater Industrial Academy in 1892, when only two other communities provided the colored citizens of this state with an opportunity of gaining higher education. More recently, in 1956, Winston-Salem gave a warm welcome to Wake

Forest College, when that outstanding institution moved to this city. Its medical school had been brought to Winston-Salem in 1941, a step which anticipated the transfer of the college by some fifteen years. Indeed, local climate appears to be favorable to education, since this city has provided the location for three significant experiments in modern techniques in this field, represented by the Governor's School, the North Carolina Advancement School, and the North Carolina School of the Arts.

Probably Winston-Salem is even better known for its industries and its banking activities. In support of this statement the fact can be cited that though it lies far from the world's waterways the federal government granted it the status of a "port of entry" in 1916 because of the volume of its imports of tobacco. Tobacco, textiles, and electronics lead the list of the industries for which Winston-Salem is known. While perhaps none of these should be regarded as a direct outgrowth of Moravian Salem, yet definite continuity can be shown between other local industrial concerns and the early crafts. Moreover, may not the prosperity of this community and the good labor relations which it has generally enjoyed be considered a heritage of the day when hardworking, shrewd, but devout pioneers laid the pattern for this community in the heart of Wachovia? Ever since its founding the Moravian congregation has included this petition in its Sunday litany: "Bless the sweat of the brow and the faithfulness in handicraft business," though this prayer has been slightly edited in the present form to read: "Bless the sweat of the brow and faithfulness in business."

Today the Wachovia Bank and Trust Company is recognized to be the largest bank not in North Carolina alone but in the whole southeastern section of the nation. Its very name recalls its close ties with the past; and in fact, some of the leading personalities connected with the Wachovia National Bank, one of the present corporation's predecessors, had had a part in earlier banking ventures in Salem.

Business activities, however, have not stifled the cultural interests of our community. Winston-Salem points with pride to the paintings of Daniel Welfare and the poems of John Henry Boner and to the creative talents of others as well. So it was fitting that a later generation should undertake to pioneer in the Arts Council movement. This city, however, may surely claim music as its most important contribution to the arts. Through the years the Moravians have preserved in their archives a great store of manuscript music, much of it composed locally by men like Johann Friedrich Peter and Johann Chris-

tian Bechler and first enjoyed by the residents of Salem, when dedication to the arts was quite unusual on this side of the Atlantic. Thanks to the relatively recent efforts of the Moravian Music Foundation this treasure store is becoming more generally available and more widely appreciated. Similarly, in 1950, the community's interest in its past found concrete expression in the organization of Old Salem, Inc., an association dedicated to preserving and restoring the buildings and crafts, the streets and walks which picture so vividly those beginnings to which we in our time owe such a debt.

There remain two aspects of Winston-Salem which ought not to be omitted from even so brief a summary as this. Its residents have cultivated philanthropy on a generous scale. For more than forty years the United Fund drives, or similar city-wide campaigns under other names, have never failed to reach their annual goals. Moreover, as the city prospered, a number of foundations were created to promote the well-being not merely of this community but of other areas in the state as well. Philanthropy frequently is an outgrowth of religious faith. In view of the ideals which motivated the founders of Salem and dominated life within that community for so long a period, the generous spirit found in this city today can be regarded at least in part as a fruit of commitment to God and concern for the needs of others, needs which the church as such no longer is in a position to supply.

The characteristic of Winston-Salem which the early settlers of Salem in Wachovia would, however, surely have put first is its continuing witness to faith in a living God. This influence has reached far out beyond the city limits. No doubt the same could be said in varying ways of every other community which cultivates vital religion. Nevertheless at this point Winston-Salem's contribution has been distinctive. Through two centuries this city has sponsored a deeply moving form of worship each Easter dawn. In it, year by year, a great assembly gives expression to the central convictions of Christian faith. The number of those who reverently participate in this service has swelled into the thousands. They come from every part of the state and from far beyond its borders. Modern science carries their witness on the air. Who can appraise the help thus given to generations of men and women in their spiritual needs! In view of this privilege and of many other benefits the citizenry of Winston-Salem has done well to designate the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Salem in Wachovia as a "Year of Thanksgiving."

REVIEW OF NORTH CAROLINA NONFICTION, 1965-1966

BY HERBERT R. PASCHAL, JR.*

As a judge in the Mayflower Award Competition of 1966 and as one who loves this state, I could not help but experience a feeling of warmth and pleasure as I sat in my study with this year's 34 Mayflower entries piled about me. Surrounding me was the visible evidence of the scholarship, creative ability, and high purpose of my fellow North Carolinians.

But as I contemplated the bounty spread before me certain nagging questions began to penetrate the euphoria of the moment. I recalled reading somewhere that about 28,000 books were published in the United States last year. A quick check of a reference work disclosed that about 20,000 were new works published for the first time. If half of these new works were fiction (and this is giving fiction far too large a share), then the truth must come clearly home to you as it did to me. North Carolinians are not writing their share of general or nonfiction works. It is difficult to pinpoint this lag precisely. It may be 50, 100, or 200 volumes, but the lag is certainly there. Thirty-four volumes are not enough.

Reviewing North Carolina's nonfiction works last year, Professor Henry Stroupe noted the number of volumes entered in the Mayflower Competition had declined from 40 in 1963, to 31 in 1964, to 25 in 1965. Professor Stroupe remarked that this decline might well be "a matter of concern." Happily, this downward trend has been checked by the 34 volumes entered in competition this year. In the end, however, a fluctuation of a few volumes each year is not very significant. What is needed is a strong current, sufficient to sweep us out of the mid-century doldrums in which we now seem caught. This is the fifteenth year in which only nonfiction works have been eligible

* Dr. Paschal is chairman of the Department of History, East Carolina College, Greenville; this report was made at the morning meeting of the Literary and Historical Association, December 2, 1966.

for the Mayflower Award. The average number of volumes placed in competition during this period has been 30, and the total number each year has seldom been far from this average. While no one would contend that we have lost ground, it would be folly to contend that we are making large strides forward either. Professor Richard Walser in his presidential address to this association three or four years ago warned that signs of a slowing down in cultural achievement were apparent in North Carolina. An increase each year of six, eight, or ten volumes entered in the Mayflower Competition would be a certain sign that the mid-century doldrums had been broken. That such a development will not be long in coming cannot help but be the ardent wish of all.

It may seem strange that one assigned the task of reviewing the nonfiction works produced in North Carolina during the past year should take time to lament the works not written. My action might be compared with that of the preacher who delivers a powerful sermon to his congregation on Sunday denouncing those who fail to attend church. For in truth it is not those who are in attendance on Sunday morning who need the lecture but those who are absent. Certainly the 33 authors whose works appear on the Mayflower list have done their share to meet any possible Tar Heel sluggishness in literary production.

In attempting to place the volumes to be reviewed in categories, I have come to have the utmost respect for librarians who without hesitation declare that this volume should be classified 973.065 or that as 328.547. I have longed for such skill and assurance but in vain. Certainly it is plain that the historians have been the most prolific Tar Heel writers. They are followed (but not too closely) by the writers of biographies and memoirs. Authors of religious works and of literary criticism have contributed several volumes in their respective categories. The remaining works may be given the admittedly broad but the decidedly safe classification of miscellaneous.

Eight of the works classified as history delve into the history of North Carolina. Two of the volumes, *Swain County: Early History and Educational Development*, by Lillian Franklin Thomasson, and *An Illustrated History of Yadkin County 1850-1956*, by William E. Rutledge, Jr., add to the steadily growing list of county histories. While both works are victims of many of the faults and problems which beset local history, they nonetheless add interesting detail and preserve much material of value for those who may subsequently write the full story of the mountain country of this state.

Two ancient North Carolina churches are treated in two separate studies. These are *New Gilead Church: A History of the German Reformed People of Coldwater*, by Banks D. Shepherd, and *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Service, 1816-1966*, the story of the Hillsborough Presbyterian Church. The Cabarrus County church on Coldwater Creek was a focal point for much of the German Reformed work in Colonial North Carolina, and the account of the early days of this church constitutes the most significant portion of Shepherd's volume. The 28 pages devoted to the history of the Hillsborough Presbyterian Church give only a fleeting glimpse of that historic church's interesting past.

In 102 concisely written pages Dr. Benjamin E. Washburn has produced *A History of the North Carolina State Board of Health, 1877-1925*. The reader of this volume completed its reading with two wishes: one, that Dr. Washburn will ultimately bring his account from 1925 to the present and, two, that all of the state's departments and agencies in Raleigh will eventually publish similar accounts of their historical development. The first portion of the study constitutes a general history of the Board of Health's development, while the latter portion of the book describes the evolution of the various divisions within the agency down to 1925.

An almost unique volume in concept and execution is William S. Powell's *Paradise Preserved*. It is a most interesting account of the thirty-odd year history of the Roanoke Island Historical Association. To place the story of the association in perspective the author briefly describes the Raleigh colonies on Roanoke Island, traces the later ownership of the settlement site, and tells of the efforts by individuals and organizations from the close of the Civil War to the present to gain national recognition for the events which transpired on Roanoke Island in the late sixteenth century. The tremendous success which the Roanoke Island Historical Association has had with Paul Green's outdoor symphonic drama *The Lost Colony* is now history, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Powell.

Richard W. Iobst's *The Bloody Sixth* is a magnificently detailed account of the career of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment during the Civil War. Included, also, is a roster of the regiment compiled by Louis H. Manarin. As the reader follows the regiment from First Manassas where its gallant commander, Charles F. Fisher, fell; through the nightmare of Rappahannock Station; and on to Appomattox, he comes clearly to understand why it well deserved the sobriquet of "the Bloody Sixth."

F. Roy Johnson's *Tales from Old Carolina* is part history and part folk tales. Whatever its classification, it is interesting. Johnson, rapidly becoming one of the more prolific writers on the North Carolina scene (he has two entries in this year's competition), recounts story after story of life in the old Albemarle area as it was lived a hundred or more years ago. Johnson's other volume, *The Nat Turner Slave Insurrection*, is a well-documented account of the tragic incident in Southampton County, Virginia, which so shocked North Carolina and the South. This work should be read by any who do not fully appreciate the haunting fear of slave insurrection which beset the dreams and thoughts of the southern slave owner.

Professor Robert Durden of Duke University has written *The Climax of Populism*. The climax to which the author alludes is the famous free silver election of 1896. The author carefully reconstructs the role of the Populist party in this election and in doing so presents evidence to show that a number of opinions held by historians about the 1896 election will have to be carefully reexamined.

Y. C. Wang's *Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872-1949*, is a highly complex and detailed study of the 100,000 Chinese students who left their own country to study abroad prior to 1949 and of the impact which these returning students had upon China. Professor Wang seems to feel the new intelligentsia tended to destroy the old moral and ethical values of China and to replace them with little of lasting worth. The new ideas which entered the vacuum thus created need no elaboration here.

Lillian Parker Wallace, a Baptist, continues to write of the Papacy with understanding and sympathy in *Leo XIII and the Rise of Socialism*. The work is essentially a full-scale treatment of the collision of the doctrines of socialism and those of the Catholic church in the nineteenth century, out of which came Pope Leo's *Rerum Novarum*. The knowledge and scholarship of the author is evident on every page of this work.

The final volume of history to be reviewed is *The Russian Army Under Nicholas I, 1825-1855*, by John S. Curtiss. Despite the rather forbidding title, this is an exceptionally readable volume. One completes this work feeling as if he were an authority on the Russian people and their character. While the story of the wars fought by Russia during the reign of Nicholas is told in considerable detail, one remembers most vividly the chapters which describe the recruitment, training, and day-to-day activities and life of the men and officers who fought in the wars. This is a genuinely rewarding study.

Six works on our Mayflower list belong clearly in the field of biography or memoirs. Given our locale and circumstances, it is perhaps only fitting that we begin our consideration of this category with Dorothy Nifong's *Brethren With Stethoscopes*. This small volume contains quite readable and entertaining sketches of the many beloved physicians who have served the Moravian community from Colonial times to the present generation. It is impossible to pass on to another work without adding a word of congratulations on the beauty of the format. If only all books were as typographically interesting, reading would bring even more pleasure.

Those who like to feel that North Carolinians can do things a little better than most will find strong proof in Glenn H. Todd's *The Immortal Nick Arrington*. This biography tells of the wealthy Nash County plantation owner who made his plantation, "The Cedars," the home of the most celebrated gamecocks in the world. No name ranks higher in the annals of this bloody sport than that of Nick Arrington. He was, says his biographer, "the greatest cockfighter that ever lived."

A former Mayflower winner, LeGette Blythe, has written *Robert Lee Stowe: Pioneer in Textiles*. In this work Blythe tells the life story of a Gaston County man who in the best tradition of the New South philosophy built a textile manufacturing empire.

Calvin B. Hoover, long-time chairman of the Department of Economics at Duke University, has written his *Memoirs of Capitalism, Communism, and Nazism*. These memoirs disclose that professors, too, can live exciting lives. Few professors, however, can match Hoover's varied career as scholar, adviser to presidents, and OSS agent in World War II.

Former Governor Terry Sanford has turned to the writing of memoirs with a work intriguingly entitled *But What About the People?* In this work Mr. Sanford tells how he set out to improve education in North Carolina during his administration. It is, as all North Carolinians know, a success story. The former governor is, however, silent upon the political infighting which must have accompanied his many victories for education.

Another former Mayflower winner, Glenn Tucker, has written *Zeb Vance: Champion of Personal Freedom*. In this work the man who may well have been the most beloved North Carolinian who has ever lived comes clearly and sharply into focus for the first time in a biography. Concentrating principally upon Vance's career as Civil

War governor, Tucker has written a biographical study of the first rank.

The field of religion is well represented among the Mayflower competitors. James Cleland, dean of Duke Chapel, in *He Died as He Lived* has written seven moving meditations on the seven last words or statements uttered by Christ upon the Cross. His Duke colleague, David B. Bradley, is the author of *Circles of Faith* which is designed to serve as an introductory work for those about to embark upon a study of the world's great religions. Catherine Johansson's *Concepts of Freedom in the Old Testament* finds hidden meanings, sometimes vague to this reviewer, in certain passages of the Bible. *Wayside Reflections*, by L. A. Martin, is a collection of seventy or eighty short inspirational messages. A Lutheran minister, Raymond H. Witt, tells of his efforts to integrate a parish on the South Side of Chicago and tells the story quite well in the title of his book, *It Ain't Been Easy, Charlie*.

Undoubtedly the best seller among the books on the Mayflower list (the jacket on my copy said there were 400,000 copies already in print) is Billy Graham's *World Aflame*. There are twenty-three chapters which together constitute a powerful if lengthy sermon. The movement of this work may be seen in the following selected chapter headings: "Flames Out of Control," "The Searchers in a Flaming World," "The Inescapable Christ," "How to Become a New Man," and "The Fabulous Future."

Literary criticism is splendidly represented by three works. *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, by O. B. Hardison, Jr., is a collection of seven closely reasoned essays designed to reassess the available knowledge of the medieval drama. Hardison contends in the last two essays that the vernacular drama did not necessarily emerge from the Latin or church drama as many authorities maintain. Lodwick Hartley's *Laurence Sterne in the Twentieth Century* consists in part of a long essay describing how the author of *Tristram Shandy* has fared at the hands of biographers and critics. The greater portion of the book is given over to a bibliography of works relating to Sterne published since 1900. Jay Broadus Hubbell has published a collection of seventeen essays in *South and Southwest*. They range in subject from "The Smith-Pocahontas Literary Legend" to "Jesse Holmes the Fool Killer."

Art history is represented by only one volume but it is a magnificent one. This work is Sidney David Markman's *Colonial Architecture of Antigua Guatemala*. It is an exhaustive study of the physical remains

of the city which served as the capital of Guatemala from 1541 to 1773. It is handsomely illustrated with 215 photographs. This work cannot help but be the definitive study of its subject.

In *Congress and Lobbies*, coauthors Andrew M. Scott and Margaret Hunt describe their interviews with congressmen which were designed to determine to what extent the people's representatives were influenced by interest groups or lobbyists. Their conclusion is that the influence of interest groups upon Congress is far less than has been thought.

Jasper L. Stuckey has written the only work which can be placed in the broad area of science. It is *North Carolina: Its Geology and Mineral Resources*. It contains not only what its title promises but also a history of the development of the science of geology in North Carolina. It is an excellent and much needed work. In *Around the World Report, 1965*, Holt McPherson takes the reader on a highly personal tour of much of Asia, while Loy A. Martin in *The Crewcut* relates anecdotes gleaned from nearly forty years behind a barber's chair. The ladies who may wonder what the men are talking about behind the big plate glass windows will find from a perusal of this work that it is rather bland stuff.

Harry Golden in *A Little Girl Is Dead* presents in full detail one of the more famous murder cases of the early twentieth century, the murder of Mary Phagan. All of the ingredients are here—a teen-age girl murdered in a pencil factory in Atlanta, a Jewish manufacturer accused of the crime, a Georgia lynch mob, *et cetera, et cetera*. To Golden the whole case is obviously loaded with symbolism. To this reviewer it was an absorbing story well told.

We have run our course. The story is told, and this reviewer must admit to the sentiments expressed in the title of the work of one of our authors—*It Ain't Been Easy, Charlie*.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES: A NONEXCLUSIVE PARTNERSHIP DEDICATED TO THE ATTAINMENT OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE, SECURITY, AND STABILITY THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS

BY SIR PATRICK DEAN*

When I was first approached by the organizers of these celebrations, I received a number of letters addressed to "Sir Patrick Dean," which, of course, was quite normal and absolutely correct. As the correspondence went on I noticed, however, that my name underwent a subtle change and I was increasingly referred to as "*Sir Patrick Henry Dean*." I am used to this form of address by now, especially when I happen to be in Virginia.

When I was reading the excellent material sent to me by the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, I saw that there might be an additional reason for the use of my full name. This is that apparently Joseph Winston, after whom the Winston part of Winston-Salem was named, was related to Patrick Henry.

I had better tell you the truth at the outset that I was not named after Patrick Henry. Nor do I know why I was christened thus because I doubt very much whether my father and mother had it in mind at that time that I should become Ambassador to the United States. So far as I know the only obvious thing that Patrick Henry and I have in common is that we started out as lawyers. After that our paths diverged. He became very close, as he himself admitted, to becoming a rebel, while I have only changed from the striped pants of the lawyer to the stuffed shirt of the diplomatist.

I am greatly honored to have been invited here to celebrate with you the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Salem.

* Sir Patrick Dean is the British Ambassador to the United States; this address was made at the luncheon meeting of the Literary and Historical Association, December 2, 1966.

The story of this city is indeed fascinating and significant, too. To begin with it is hard to imagine that it was ever possible to buy the tract of land known as Wachovia—some 100,000 acres—for £916. But my history book tells me it was so. It was an arrangement arrived at between the Moravians and Lord Granville, the last of the Lords Proprietors of the colony, who held the counties bordering on Virginia. The early settlers who came to Wachovia were from Pennsylvania and were largely central European by origin. They decided that they wanted a “congregation town” where only members of the Moravian church would live. That town began to grow in 1766 and it was, significantly, I think, called Salem, from the Hebrew, meaning “peace.” Before that, the territory which is now North Carolina had, of course, been inhabited by a number of Indian tribes and was visited by French, Spanish, and English explorers in the early sixteenth century. Then there were the very early attempts by the English to settle on Roanoke Island, some two hundred years before the founding of Salem. And later much of the state was settled by Englishmen and Scottish Highlanders and people of mixed Scottish and Irish descent.

Now all these peoples, with their different religious, social, racial, and educational backgrounds have melded, through natural hardship and the vicissitudes of war, and have built and created, prospered and expanded. This city is now, as we all know, one of the leading cultural and manufacturing centers of the South. Britain has long enjoyed not only a close cultural and historical association with North Carolina and Winston-Salem, we also have very close and important business ties as well.

So it seems appropriate and it is for me a great pleasure to take this opportunity to say a few words to you about the position of our two countries in the world today.

Let me begin by saying that while Britain is no longer one of the greatest powers because we have not the military might, economic strength, or the resources, or the populations of the United States and Russia, we are nonetheless preeminently a worldwide power with more interests, relationships, and commitments in every part of the globe than any other power. As Mr. George Brown, the British Foreign Secretary, put it recently, we are “linked to the four corners of the world, linked by trade, linked by the Commonwealth, linked by our Alliances.” These ties have come to us through history and geography, and through the realities of international life today.

Though Britain is geographically roughly the same size as the state

of Oregon; hard put to it, up to now, too often for comfort, to make both ends meet; though we have to import about half the food we eat and nearly all the raw materials we need for our industry—we have nonetheless many blessings.

These include, above all, a spirit of independence, of determination, of adventure, of ingenuity and a desire to innovate and to invent, to explore and to pioneer. Without them we certainly should not have survived. We share these with you, just as we share a common history and, I believe, a common destiny. Today, at this stage in our long and at times stormy association, we can see certain things very clearly indeed. Above all, our two countries have reached a point where for our own peoples at home and for the world at large we hope for and are working toward, very broadly, the same things.

This closeness of view and similarity in approach to world problems is, of course, based upon many things. We are greatly helped by speaking a common language—"The strongest and most durable of all ties," as De Tocqueville wrote. We are like-minded in our fundamental beliefs; the parliamentary system, the independent judiciary, the inalienable right of human beings to live in freedom and dignity under law; that the state is made for man and not vice versa. There are strong ties of blood, too.

But this common approach, based on our closely intermingled past, is not, I believe, in any way a narrow, myopic relationship. There is no exclusivity about the partnership between Britain and the United States. Some people suggest that it is so, but they do so out of ignorance. You may have come across this line of thought—that the partnership is in some way exclusive or preclusive—in the context of the probings and soundings that are now going on about possible British entry into the European Common Market. Perhaps people do not always fully understand what we say. That of course may be our fault. What we have in fact always tried to make clear is that we could never take part in the building of a unified Europe if the cost were to divide the Atlantic down the middle. Put another way, we do not intend to narrow the English Channel by widening the Atlantic Ocean. How could we? We know that it is vital for world peace and stability as well as for our own individual national well-being that the responsibilities and commitments of Europe and North America should continue to be interdependent.

I do not believe any nation, however great and powerful or small and insignificant, can ever again be sure it would survive another global war. In Britain's case another war of that kind is unthinkable:

we are far too vulnerable. For the seas that surround our islands, though always our friend, can never again be the shield that they were in the past. So it would surely be an incredibly backward step if, after two disastrous world wars and tremendous efforts on the part of governments and people over the years to bring about greater unity, we were now to go back on our tracks and deny all these things. Are not the Commonwealth, the European Economic Community, EFTA, NATO, SEATO, CENTO, the OAS, and the OAU, to mention only some of the main organizations, and above all the United Nations itself, are they not all concrete, if imperfect, examples of governments' and peoples' determination to work together, to advance by peaceful cooperation rather than by any violent means?

Our way to international peace, security, and stability is to work through peaceful means—negotiation, arbitration, mediation, consultation, and discussion within the framework of international law. In a world where the old empires have broken up and the greater part of the world's population is going through a period of change it is essential that we should try to ensure that that change is peaceful and not violent.

In some of the newly—or relatively newly independent countries—poverty and ignorance and disease are extreme and the potential for fermenting violence is extreme, too, as we have all unfortunately seen. That is why those nations in the developed world, the United States and Britain, and other like-minded countries, have launched big programs of aid for the developing countries. These programs, generous though they are, are never large enough, so great is the gap between the developing and developed countries. That gap used to be thought about in terms of wealth only—hence the terms Haves and Have-Nots—but now it is, I think, understood to be much more complex. The gap now covers the ability to trade in this highly competitive world and refers, too, to the huge technological gulf between us which gets wider by geometrical rather than arithmetical progression. Indeed, we might now almost refer to the two parties as the Know-Hows and the Non-Know-Hows.

Side by side with our aid programs are the treaties and defensive alliances by which both we and you seek to help the smaller countries, when they ask, from being overcome or subverted by larger and more powerful countries.

Within our partnership there is, naturally, a great disparity. The United States is the most powerful nation on earth. But you would, I am sure, be the first to agree that, as we found out, power brings with

it extra burdens and more responsibilities. To carry these out you need not only your own vast resources, and the willingness of your people, and your own broad shoulders. You also have to have friends. Though in terms of power, Britain's contribution is bound to be small beside yours, it is nonetheless constant and significant. Above all, it is there and you are aware that it will remain there so long as it is needed and so long as we are able to provide it. I am thinking here of such concrete things as the fact that Britain has always made the biggest contribution after the United States to NATO and that again, after you, we are the second largest contributor to United Nations activities as a whole. Moreover, we are the only country to be a member of all three defensive alliances, NATO, SEATO, and CENTO.

Then, too, we have something to offer the partnership which is difficult to measure in concrete terms. Through history, especially our imperial and trading past, we have naturally well-established links with many parts of the world where you have few or none. And by these links which cover the whole globe, principally through the Commonwealth, we can make a certain unique contribution.

So between us, I think we have much to offer in the continuing struggle for peace and for the improvement of our fellowmen's way of life and standard of living.

FURNIFOLD M. SIMMONS: "JEHOVAH OF THE TAR HEELS"?

BY RICHARD L. WATSON, JR.*

"In him one discovers nothing of the flashing eye, the craggy mein, the Bryanesque shine which one instinctively associates with the Lord God Jehovah and the Senator from the South. Nevertheless, the man's duds, in the aggregate, are worthy of the stateliest neanderthaler who ever cooled his heels on a Capitol Hill desk, worthy of Jehovah in His most waggish moments. . . ."

"Simmons' salient achievement is to have lifted the Republican party in the state to a fighting equality with its foe, and set North Carolina on a path that . . . must lead finally to Republican rule." So wrote the distinguished North Carolina journalist-critic, Wilbur J. Cash, in July, 1929.¹ F. M. Simmons, U.S. senator from North Carolina, epitome of Democratic regularity, had just refused to support Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic party's candidate for President of the United States.

Just two years before Peter Wilson in his book *Southern Exposure* stated that "Furnifold M. Simmons . . . is the greatest representative North Carolina has ever sent to the Councils of the Nation." In 1914 Josiah W. Bailey had written that "in our National Councils" Simmons "is the most conspicuous individual since Nathaniel Macon."² By then Simmons had already served thirteen years in the U.S. Senate, and Bailey had been one of the Senator's key supporters particularly

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¹ W. J. Cash, "Jehovah of the Tar Heels," *American Mercury*, XVII (July, 1929), 310-318, hereinafter cited as Cash, "Jehovah of the Tar Heels."

² Peter Michael Wilson, *Southern Exposure* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1927), 186; speech by R. A. Nunn given at the memorial exercises for Senator Simmons at the Craven County Superior Courtroom, May 13, 1946, copy in Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham; Bailey to editor, *Greensboro Daily News* [August, 1914], Josiah W. Bailey Papers, Duke Manuscript Department, hereinafter cited as Bailey Papers.

in the campaign for renomination over W. W. Kitchin in 1912—the only primary in Simmons' thirty-year career, other than his first and last, in which he faced any significant opposition. In 1914, at sixty years of age, Simmons was reaching the peak of his power. Sixteen years later, sick, tired, with many of his political friends dead—he ran in his last primary and the same Josiah Bailey overwhelmed him.

There have been a number of attempts to rate American political leaders. One poll attempted to select the five leading senators, and the portraits of Clay, Webster, Calhoun, La Follette, and Taft now grace the Senate Reception Room. Someday someone will list the North Carolinians who have had the greatest influence upon national politics. Far be it from me to dare to provide such a list. Perhaps, however, the career of Furnifold McLendel Simmons might suggest some of the criteria for such a selection.

One of these might be length of service. Although length of service does not mean distinction, frequent reelection does imply that constituents are satisfied; and the longer the service, the greater the opportunity to perform. Simmons is one of five representatives and senators from North Carolina who served in the U.S. Congress for thirty years or more. Nathaniel Macon served thirty-four years in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and Robert L. Doughton with forty years, Edward Pou with thirty-three years, and Harold Cooley with thirty-two years, all served in the twentieth century. Simmons, tied with Cooley for fourth place among North Carolina's legislators in tenure but first among the senators, entered politics from New Bern in the late 1870's. At that time the Republican party in North Carolina was strong while the Democrats were badly split over what many considered radical policies of monetary inflation and government regulation demanded by farm groups. In 1884 the Republicans in the Second District, whose membership included thousands of Negro voters, had elected a Negro, James E. O'Hara, as their congressional representative. Before O'Hara's term was over, another Negro, probably encouraged by the Democrats, was seeking the nomination. By this maneuver the Republican voters in the district were split. Simmons had just been appointed chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of the district. He was thirty-two years old, a persuasive speaker, and a successful lawyer,³ but he was also a farmer sympathetic to agrarian demands yet unwilling to com-

³ *News and Observer* (Raleigh), October 14, September 2, 1886, hereinafter cited as *News and Observer*.

mit himself to some of the more radical ones. A logical candidate to take advantage of the Republican split, he was nominated and elected.

Thus began Simmons' political career. It was a hesitant beginning because two years later he was defeated by Henry P. Cheatham, another Republican Negro. In this year Democrats all over the state were having difficulties because the Farmers Alliance and Populists were upsetting traditional party applecarts. By 1892 the situation had deteriorated so rapidly that Democratic defeat in the state seemed likely. At that time the chairmanship of the Democratic State Committee was hardly a sought-after post, and the party old guard may have been seeking a victim when they asked Simmons to accept it. Simmons' father advised his son to turn them down suspecting that they were looking for a scapegoat.⁴ The father may have been right, but had Simmons refused the post, he might never have been a U.S. senator.

Simmons did accept and acquired a reputation as a superb party organizer which was to be his throughout his career. This reputation was the result of meticulous attention to detail; voter-by-voter canvass by responsible workers, protection of the polls by poll watchers, judicious use of absentee ballots, distribution of literature,⁵ making use of eloquent speakers (young men in most cases such as Charles B. Aycock, Cameron Morrison, Locke Craig, Lee S. Overman, Robert B. Glenn, Claude and W. W. Kitchin, and Josephus Daniels), and an indefinable personal magnetism that his friends tried hard to explain. The Democrats won in 1892, and, as the *Wilmington Star* put it, "Chairman Simmons proved himself a Napoleon in politics in the recent campaign."⁶

Simmons gave up the chairmanship to accept his reward, the post of Collector of Internal Revenue for the Eastern District of North Carolina. In the next elections, those of 1894 and 1896, the Democrats suffered a series of statewide defeats and in 1898 he was called back to win the state from the control of the Republicans and Populists and their Negro allies. New successes brought him the most important national office which North Carolina Democrats could bestow, that of U.S. senator.

This is not the place to discuss the elections of 1898 and 1900, but again Simmons made his mark as chairman of the Democratic State Committee and created an organization upon which his future politi-

⁴J. Fred Rippey (ed.), *F. M. Simmons, Statesman of the New South . . .* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1936), 19, hereinafter cited as Rippey, *F. M. Simmons*.

⁵*News and Observer*, September 11, 1892.

⁶Quoted in *News and Observer*, November 12, 1892.

cal security rested. Those were emotional years when racial antagonisms were at fever pitch, and when the goal was not only Democratic victory but Negro disfranchisement. The two went hand in hand because the thousands of Negroes who voted in those days usually voted Republican, and some Democrats simply wanted to cut down on Republican strength. But motives were mixed. There were undoubtedly those who wished to win by any means, and an anti-Negro, white supremacy slogan attracted votes. At the same time, many were convinced that the polls were being corrupted by illiterate Negro voters, and hence looked upon disfranchisement as a positive reform. Indeed the campaign took on the nature of a crusade. Simmons described it years later as "those great days of 1898 when you and I fought side by side with thousands of the bravest and best of the state to restore reputable and honest government to North Carolina." He continued to cite his successes of 1898 and 1900 in all his campaigns including the primary of 1930 when he was finally defeated.⁷

Thus the early campaigns provided Simmons with an organization and a reputation—factors which put him in the Senate and helped to keep him there, and which led to his political enemies tagging him and his friends with the label "Simmons Machine."

It would be difficult to define precisely what this machine was or what it did. His friends, understandably, denied the existence of any sinister organization. Simmons was a highly respected man, they claimed, and his friends turned to him for political advice;⁸ more often than not they followed it. Perhaps his influence was greatest in selecting governors, a process in which he took a keen interest. Even in gubernatorial campaigns, however, his role is unclear since he left much of the personal work to others, such as his dedicated and controversial secretaries, A. D. Watts until the early 1920's and then Frank Hampton. Simmons was particularly active in supporting Aycock in 1900, Craig in 1908 and 1912, Morrison in 1920, and Angus W. McLean in 1924. Only in 1908 was his candidate, Locke Craig, defeated, and Craig came back to win in 1912. In that same year W. W. Kitchen challenged Simmons for the Senate, the only time in thirty years that Simmons' tenure was threatened. But the advantageous position of a man already in office together with the effectiveness of his organization quashed the threat.

⁷ Rippey, *F. M. Simmons*, 184.

⁸ Author's interview with John Langston, June 25, 1954; author's interview with Frank Hampton, September 6, 1955.

There is little evidence of any significant influence of a machine in state legislation. After the disfranchising amendment to the Constitution in 1900, the only clear-cut case of Simmons' personal intervention in state legislation was in the fight for prohibition. He claims to have drafted the Watts Bill of 1903 which provided the entering wedge by prohibiting "saloons and distilleries" in rural areas. The issue became perhaps the liveliest in the state until statewide prohibition was adopted in 1908. Although such men as Thomas J. Jarvis, Josiah Bailey, Locke Craig, Josephus Daniels, and particularly Governor Glenn were in the forefront of this campaign, Simmons helped work out the strategy by dramatically claiming that the state was "spending more money for Liquor than for education, for intoxication than for children."⁹ From a political point of view these victories had gratifying results. Simmons had identified himself with the popular side in one of the exciting issues of the day and gained supporters among women's clubs, churches, and increasingly influential organizations such as the Anti-Saloon League and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

By the time Simmons entered the Senate in 1901, he had already been a professional politician for fifteen years. Political loyalty and responsibility for constituents were a part of his very being, and his office staff kept busy taking care of North Carolinians. Sometimes they merely greeted visitors, but there were also all kinds of services: the banker from Charlotte whom Simmons aided in securing a government deposit;¹⁰ the employee in the Department of Internal Revenue who was transferred back to North Wilkesboro at Simmons' request and who promised Simmons' secretary, "If ever I can render you or the Senator a favor, nights don't get too dark—rain or hail won't fall too fast for me to move to your or his interest."¹¹

Simmons took advantage of all opportunities to send government favors to constituents. He distributed flowering shrubs from the Botanical Gardens; he honored numerous requests for fish to stock fish ponds by ordering them from the Commissioner of Fisheries;¹² he

⁹ Rippey, *F. M. Simmons*, 35-37; Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 568-569; Daniel J. Whitener, *Prohibition in North Carolina, 1715-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946), Chapters IX and X, especially 157, n.23.

¹⁰ W. C. Wilkinson to Simmons, December 2, 1907, Furnifold M. Simmons Papers, Duke Manuscript Department, hereinafter cited as Simmons Papers.

¹¹ P. E. Dancy to Frank Hampton, October 31, 1919, Simmons Papers.

¹² See, for example, Simmons to George W. Hess, Director of U.S. Botanical Gardens, April 1, 1925, Simmons Papers. In 1925 over 800 applications from North Carolina for fish were pending.

took advantage of an annual appropriation providing for free distribution of garden seeds. As one party worker put it in 1908, "I suggest that you let the seed come right along, so that I may distribute them among my operatives before they begin to complain. The effect is good."¹³

Simmons and his secretaries spent a great deal of effort in rewarding constituents with jobs.¹⁴ The traditional source of political reward was, of course, the post office. The plums involved were not only postmasters, but railway postal clerks, postal inspectors, rural letter carriers, and the location of R.F.D. routes. In a rural state such as North Carolina, communication was important and the postal employees were frequently a source of political views and could thus swing considerable influence. As Frank Hampton, Simmons' secretary, put it on one occasion, "These matters are loaded, and . . . require a very thorough knowledge of local politics and political functions and political county leaders. . . ."¹⁵ In any case Simmons supported legislation popular with the postal employees such as the expansion of the R.F.D. system and numerous measures for higher pay.¹⁶ Understandably the rural letter carriers—who themselves were organized—were enthusiastic supporters. Indeed this support may have been one of the most important factors explaining the effectiveness of the Simmons organization.

When Simmons was elected to the Senate, postmasters were not chosen by civil service examinations. Normally congressmen nominated candidates proposed by the local faithful and thus gained friends strategically placed for political purposes. Simmons understandably favored this procedure. He was also understandably upset when President Wilson tightened up the civil service requirements for postmasters and finally limited the selection for any particular job to the person who scored highest on a competitive examination.¹⁷ To the Democrats the unfortunate result of this procedure might be that the top scorer could be a Republican. Part of the game now became to see to it that "two or three good Simmons Democrats . . ." "likely to make good grades" would take the examination so that "the chances of a

¹³ Lawrence McRae, County Board of Elections, Rockingham County, to Simmons, March 31, 1908, Simmons Papers.

¹⁴ For example, Simmons to J. M. Long, June 15, 1921, Simmons Papers.

¹⁵ Hampton to Leon Fuquay, October 1, 1926, Simmons Papers.

¹⁶ See, for example, James H. Holloway to Simmons, March 7, 1907, and numerous letters in Simmons Papers in 1908 and in January, 1925; E. D. Pearsall to S. A. Ashe, July 26, 1912, also in Simmons Papers.

¹⁷ Simmons to Woodrow Wilson, March 15, 1917, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; *Report of the Postmaster General, 1919* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1919), 57.

Republican making the highest grade would be reduced to a minimum."¹⁸

When Warren G. Harding became President in 1921, he looked at the Wilson method of choosing postmasters with quite different eyes. Republican complaints about the system were that the top grade might go to a Democrat, and to appoint Democratic postmasters would not do; so within two months of his inauguration, Harding changed the procedure by instructing the Postmaster General to nominate to the President the name of not the one with the highest grade but "one of the highest three qualified eligibles. . . ."¹⁹

Simmons quickly saw that Harding would probably be able to find at least one Republican among the top three. He knew that he could not "exercise any influence in the matter of appointments with the Republican administration." Yet he proposed to see that the civil service laws and executive orders were "not prostituted for political purposes."²⁰ For example, when he learned that the Post Office Department proposed to hold another examination for the postmastership of Norlina where only one man, a Democrat, had qualified, he wrote Postmaster General Will H. Hays: "Of course, I do not expect a Republican Administration to appoint Democrats in preference to Republicans, but in this case, Mr. Hardy is the *only* eligible, and I should think that his appointment would follow as a matter of course, if the merit system is to receive any consideration whatsoever. I understand it is proposed to call for another examination on the grounds that a full list of three eligibles is desired. . . . I know that this course would be only a subterfuge, and I do not think that it will have your approval. I shall await with much interest your Department's action in this case."²¹

Postmaster appointments, providing bulbs, seeds, and shrubs for constituents, being sure that the rural routes were established in line with his friends' wishes, even at times slipping a word to people who were grading civil service examinations,²² baseball tickets, appointments to Annapolis and West Point, veterans' claims for hospital service and pensions, all were important in retaining a loyal following in North Carolina. They hardly determine status as a statesman, how-

¹⁸ [Hampton] to T. M. Washington, March 18, 1919; [Hampton] to L. V. Bassett, October 16, 1919, Simmons Papers.

¹⁹ *Report of the Postmaster General, 1921* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1921).

²⁰ Simmons to G. L. Griffin, May 13, 1921, Simmons Papers.

²¹ Simmons to Will Hays, December 22, 1921, Simmons Papers.

²² Hampton to Thomas Battle, February 20, 1926; telegram, Hampton to J. P. Bunn, March 2, 1926, Simmons Papers.

ever, and if Simmons is to be ranked as one of North Carolina's greatest, he will have to be judged by more than the gains and losses in postmasterships. He must be judged on the basis of his effectiveness as a legislator.

In this category, also, Simmons would emerge with good marks. He owed his reputation in the Senate not merely to seniority but to intelligence and hard work.²³

The most tangible results of Simmons' legislative efforts may have come from his membership on the Senate Committee on Commerce. Simmons was a member of that committee from 1906 until he left the Senate, and he took his national responsibilities seriously. Unquestionably, however, these national interests were colored by the effect that various projects would have upon his state. At heart he was an eastern North Carolinian, sensitive to high transportation costs and low farm prices; convinced of the potentialities of New Bern and Wilmington as ocean ports; of the rivers, sounds, and swamps as inland waterways, and of the possibilities of connecting these by a railway with the trans-Appalachian West.

Simmons was by no means the only North Carolinian in Congress who fought to improve the state's waterways. John Small of Washington, congressman from 1899 to 1919, and Lindsay Warren, also from Washington, who served from 1925 to 1941, were equally dedicated. Yet Simmons and his secretaries put an amazing amount of time in following projects small and large from local studies to the chief of army engineers, to congressional committee, and to the floors of the House and Senate. Year after year, Simmons would wangle appropriations for such projects as a thirty-foot channel in the Cape Fear River from Wilmington to the sea; the construction of dams and locks on the Cape Fear to create a reliable eight-foot channel from Fayetteville to Wilmington;²⁴ and, perhaps his most important project, the Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway.

²³ Both Senator Henry F. Ashurst and Senator Walter George testified to Simmons' abilities. Author's interviews with Senator Ashurst, March 30, 1955, and with Senator George, March 31, 1955.

²⁴ *Cape Fear River at and Below Wilmington, N.C., and Between Wilmington and Navassa, Report on Review of Reports Heretofore Submitted on Cape Fear River Below Wilmington, N.C., and Between Wilmington and Navassa*, House Rivers and Harbors Committee, Document No. 39, Seventy-first Congress, Second Session, cited in 46 Stat. 923, c. 847. *Cape Fear River, N.C., Report on Preliminary Examination and Survey of Cape Fear River, Above Wilmington, N.C., with View to Construction of Lock and Dam About 15 Miles Below Fayetteville*, House Documents, Seventy-first Congress, Third Session, 1930-1931, No. 786; *Report of the Chief of Engineers, 1934*, Seventy-fourth Congress, First Session, 1935, No. 7, Part 1, 393; *Report of Chief of Engineers, Army, 1935*, Seventy-fourth Congress, Second Session, 1936, Part 1, 474-475.

Apparently that project was launched in 1875 with a survey from the Dismal Swamp to the Cape Fear River. By 1909 the route from Boston to Beaufort had been surveyed. In 1912 the first appropriation was made for acquiring North Carolina real estate, and from then on the battle was joined to extend the distance, deepen the channel, and improve the facilities.²⁵

From the beginning Small and Simmons had championed the project. Which of the two made the greater contribution was perfectly clear to the partisans of each; however, Josephus Daniels perhaps gave a reasonable appraisal when he told Small, "Simmons did a great work and I think it will be his most lasting monument. But . . . any attempt on the part of his supporters to give him full credit and deny your initiative would be most unjust. . . ." ²⁶ In any case, after Small's retirement from the House in 1919, Simmons was the project's principal champion. By 1928 it was almost completed from Boston to Beaufort; an appropriation of \$6 million had been provided to carry it to Wilmington; and Simmons was prophesying its early extension to Miami at a cost of more than \$125 million and was dreaming of an inland water route all the way from Maine to Mexico.²⁷

Although Simmons probably made his greatest contribution to North Carolina through the Commerce Committee, he owed his national reputation more to his service on the prestigious Senate Finance Committee. He was appointed to that committee in 1908 when the Republicans controlled the Senate. As usual he took his responsibility seriously and spent uncounted hours in becoming one of the nation's leading authorities on tariffs and taxes. Indeed studying a tariff schedule was his idea of pleasant reading. He soon discovered, however, that the task was too much for otherwise busy senators, and he demanded that minority members of the Finance Committee be authorized to call upon experts to help them unravel the intricacies of a complicated tariff schedule or revenue bill. This realization that important committees needed expert advice led to the creation in the

²⁵ For early history see *Congressional Record*, Sixty-fourth Congress, First Session, 1915-1916, 5462-5464.

²⁶ Daniels to John Small, October 15, 1930, Josephus Daniels Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as Daniels Papers. For a brief treatment of Small's contribution and his differences with Simmons, see Mary Louise Elder, "The Political Organization and Techniques of John H. Small" (unpublished master's thesis, Duke University, 1958).

²⁷ *Hearings Before the Committee on Commerce, United States Senate, 70th Congress, 1st Session on S. 1760, a Bill to Increase the Capital Stock of the Inland Waterways Corporation* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1928), 9-13; *Congressional Record*, Seventieth Congress, First Session, 1927-1928, 3595-3612.

1920's of an important institution, the Joint Committee on Taxation, a bipartisan body with an expert staff which was designed to supply members of both houses factual data on revenue legislation.²⁸

In the early twentieth century, the tariff was as lively an issue as civil rights or foreign aid in the 1960's, and Simmons found himself in the midst of a battle for tariff reform. Here is not the place to tell the story of the tariff fiasco of 1909—but it did serve to educate Simmons. He learned the need for a mastery of detail, for compromising on small points, and for combining with dissident groups in order to win partial victories.

The debate of 1909, moreover, brought out Simmons' pragmatic attitude toward issues. The official Democratic position as described in the party platform of 1908 was for a tariff for revenue only and for lumber to be on the free list.²⁹ Simmons called for general tariff duties to raise necessary revenue but also specific duties to protect those products "which most need to be protected against unequal foreign competition. . . ." ³⁰ In the vote he deserted the majority of his party and voted for a higher duty on lumber. For this certain Democrats accused him of treachery. Simmons countered by arguing that he would have voted for lower duties on lumber had it not been clear that the majority was going to raise duties including those on products essential for consumers and farmers in North Carolina—as he put it "if we must have protective tariffs, I was determined that the lumbermen of my section should share in [the] benefits." ³¹

Simmons succeeded to the chairmanship of the Finance Committee when Wilson became President in 1913. Some of the more progressive Democrats considered Simmons unduly conservative and had opposed his appointment. Actually they did not understand Simmons—for he should not have been labeled progressive or conservative or liberal or what have you. He was a practical Democratic politician who would legislate according to the particular situation in which he found himself. By 1913 he had made himself an authority on the tariff and as a Democratic senator he accepted the responsibility of pushing through a program which the Wilson administration could display to the voters.

In this case a dry-as-dust tariff debate was colored by accusations of undue influence from pressure groups. The House, guided by Oscar

²⁸ Author's interview with Leon Fuquay, March 31, 1955; author's interview with Alexander M. Walker, December 9, 1958.

²⁹ Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson (eds.), *National Party Platforms, 1840-1960* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), 146.

³⁰ Speech in the Senate, April 28, 1909, quoted in Rippy, *F. M. Simmons*, 228.

³¹ Rippy, *F. M. Simmons*, 50.

W. Underwood of Alabama, produced a moderate bill and passed it on to the Senate. Here Simmons' Finance Committee reduced the rates even more, and the Senate goaded by Wilson and maneuvered by Simmons put a measure on the books which was the lowest since the Civil War. The Underwood-Simmons tariff, the only significant statute that bears Simmons name, brought accolades to both leaders from Wilson and also brought the statement from the *Washington Post* that "Mr. Simmons, heralded originally as a conservative, has come forth with his radical colors flying in the breeze."³²

Simmons made an even more significant contribution in the measures (for taxes and liberty bonds) which were passed between 1917 and 1919 to finance the war effort. Imagine the situation: involvement in a distant war—millions of men to be transported overseas with unlimited supplies, ships, munitions—how to finance such a war then without precedent? From 1866 to 1917 federal expenditures had run well under \$1 billion a year. In 1917 they ran about \$2 billion; in 1918 more than \$12.5 billion, and in 1919 \$18.5 billion, an annual expenditure not to be exceeded until 1942.³³ Understandably controversies in which the Finance Committee was headlined developed over fiscal policy; and as usual Simmons took a moderate position.

He told the story of a wealthy constituent who lived in New York and who "later became a humanitarian." In 1916 this man had advocated entering the war, saying that the people would pay the cost willingly. After the first revenue measure was passed, however, he rushed into Simmons' office and claimed that the Congress had "gone stark mad." "You are ruining us," he said. At this point Simmons "told him that he could count himself fortunate if we merely took his income" and that before the war was over "a Capital levy might be necessary." In Simmons' view, the wealthy had to pay the great bulk of the war's cost but, as he put it, "I believe just as strongly . . . [that] patriotic duty require[s] that every man, rich or poor, should pay his part. . . ." ³⁴

The Wilson years brought to a high point Simmons' senatorial career. In 1918 he lost his chairmanship when the Republicans carried

³² Bailey to Simmons, September 10, 1913, *Simmons Papers*; *Washington Post*, October 2, 1913; Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 177-197.

³³ Expenditures of the federal government in 1865 were \$1,297,555,000, the largest to that date. The lowest point after that date was in 1878 with \$236,964,000. Annual expenditures then fluctuated upward to \$760,587,000 in 1915. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), 718.

³⁴ Rippy, *F. M. Simmons*, 63-64; speech in Senate, August 10-11, 30, 1917, quoted in Rippy, *F. M. Simmons*, 404.

both the House and Senate and from then until he left the Senate, he was ranking Democrat on the Finance Committee, and for a part of that time, ranking Democrat in the Senate.

The period could not have been a particularly happy time for him. By 1920 he was sixty-six years old and frequently ill. In 1926 what he thought was a severe case of poison ivy which spread all over his face turned out to be shingles. He was in continuous pain and got no relief for months until surgeons cut a facial nerve.³⁵

During the leisurely Coolidge years, from 1923 to 1929, Congress was in session for an average of only four or five months a year, and Simmons was able to spend long periods on his New Bern farms. Although he loved New Bern, he had his troubles since many farmers did not enjoy prosperity even in the twenties. Simmons himself occasionally had good tobacco crops, but frequently "the boll weevil got his cotton."³⁶ He was in debt and had difficulty in paying his taxes, not to mention the taxes of his colored tenants.³⁷

In spite of age and catastrophe, however, Simmons strengthened his reputation as a legislator and authority on public finance during the 1920's, particularly in the field of taxation. Here he was at his legislative best. He knew all the tricks of the parliamentary trade, as well as the foibles of his political enemies and friends. The Senate situation was made to order, moreover, for the skilled strategist. In spite of Republican majorities, there were always about a dozen Republicans who bolted the party so frequently that they were known as "Sons of the Wild Jackasses." Senators like George Norris, Robert La Follette, and Hiram Johnson might vote with their party, go their own independent way, or, horror of horrors, even vote with the Democrats.

The architect of Republican tax policy was Secretary of the Treasury Andrew William Mellon, Pittsburgh industrialist, art collector, and millionaire—and the "Sons of the Wild Jackasses" disliked millionaires even more than they did Democrats. As early as 1921, when the first postwar revenue bill was passed, Simmons joined the elder La Follette in modifying a Mellon-backed measure.³⁸

³⁵ Fuquay to Daniels, October 4, 1926, Daniels Papers; Mrs. F. M. Simmons to Hampton [October 17, 1926], memorandum for the press, December 6, 1926, Simmons Papers; H. R. Bryan to Bailey, March 19, 1927, Bailey Papers.

³⁶ Billy Leinster to Hampton, August 18, 1923; Hampton to Mrs. J. R. Stuart, October 14, 1924, Simmons Papers.

³⁷ J. R. Westbrook to Simmons, August 2, 1921; Simmons to Westbrook, May 31, 1921; Hampton to Thomas H. Battle [March ?, 1925], Simmons Papers.

³⁸ Belle C. La Follette and Fola La Follette, *Robert M. La Follette* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1953), II, 1034-1037; *News and Observer*, May 4, 1924.

The coalition of Democrats and Independents won several significant changes in that bill, and from then through 1928, Simmons spent much of his time battling it out with the Republican opposition. In 1924 he succeeded in getting the Senate to accept his version rather than that of Mellon. As the *News and Observer* happily reported: "Simmons' Liver Regulator has become standard in the Senate. It is now called Simmons' tax regulator. It is warranted to prevent over-fattening of the already pudgy purses."³⁹ In this bill his supporters included the "Sons of the Wild Jackasses"; as a result, he was acquiring the reputation of a radical, and some of his North Carolina business friends began to fear that in his zeal to defeat Mellon he might create a tax structure that would be hard on them. They need not have feared. While Simmons fought the Republicans, he kept his eyes firmly fixed on what effect each tax law would have upon the people he knew in North Carolina. As Hampton reassured a Greensboro industrialist, "I would bet you almost anything within my command that the reduction that Senator Simmons will finally advocate will save you more money than if Secretary Mellon's proposal should be adopted in toto."⁴⁰

Indeed as the battle developed in 1926, it appeared that Simmons was trying to outdo Mellon in a demand for tax reduction, and in fact, he probably was. He apparently suspected that Mellon wanted to save the largest tax reduction for 1928 so that the Republicans could get the credit for it just before the presidential election of that year. Simmons with his political antenna sensitively tuned to such maneuvers was determined that whatever tax reduction was possible should take place in 1926—two years before the presidential election.⁴¹

In 1926 Simmons won two important revisions in the measure which had the support of the administration. One of these was a substantial reduction in surtaxes on citizens whose incomes were between \$20,000 and \$100,000, those who as Simmons put it "constitute an overwhelming majority of the prosperous and successful citizens of the United States who are themselves actively engaged in business" and "the great rank and file of North Carolina industries."⁴²

Simmons' support of this reduction in surtaxes upset the "Sons of the Wild Jackasses," and, also the *News and Observer*, which now considered him a traitor to the cause of more equitable taxation. His

³⁹ *News and Observer*, May 6, 1924.

⁴⁰ Hampton to H. S. Richardson, Vick Chemical Company, Greensboro, July 28, 1924, Simmons Papers.

⁴¹ *Greensboro Daily News*, January 11, 1926.

⁴² [*Washington Star*], clipping, about January 18, 1926, Simmons Papers.

position on inheritance taxes alienated them even more. A provision of the bill, for which Simmons and his colleague Overman battled successfully, reduced the high rates of 1924 on inheritance to the lower rates of 1921 and made the new provision retroactive to 1924. Simmons argued on this point that he was not opposed to estate taxes; he merely thought that the states should levy such taxes, and that he thought it "inequitable to apply the high rates of the 1924 law to those estates where the decedent happened to die while the 1924 law was in operation."⁴³ Clearly if Simmons' revisions should win, the estates of those who had died between 1924 and 1926 would receive a neat windfall. An interesting thing about this provision was that of the twenty-four or so wealthy men who had died between 1924 and 1926, the largest estate was that of the entrepreneur, James B. Duke.⁴⁴

Although there was much misinformation abroad at that time about the provisions of the Duke Endowment, it was clear that the retroactive provision would save the Duke estate many millions of dollars. Simmons, defending the provision, pointed out "that in the case of the Duke Endowment, it would not help millionaires, but the beneficiaries of the endowment, and that those aided would be not only Duke University, of which he and Senator Overman happened to be alumni, but also various other educational institutions, as well as hospitals and "superannuated Ministers." Commented Norris: "And the whole fund . . . will go to the benefit of superannuated millionaires"; yet Simmons and his supporters had the regular Republicans with them in the Senate and could outvote the Republican independents. In the House the opposition was outmaneuvered.⁴⁵ As Jonathan Daniels described it—when the vote was announced, Simmons' face was lined with a contented grin. "I knew what was going to happen," he said later. "I have been pretty close in Conference with them over there."⁴⁶

As the election of 1928 approached, Simmons' prestige was high. Wrote Cameron Morrison to Simmons in 1926, "I do not think you ever stood higher in the esteem of your constituents, or of the whole country, than you do now."⁴⁷ Few probably doubted that he would

⁴³ *Greensboro Daily News*, January 17, 28, 1926.

⁴⁴ Jonathan Daniels in the *News and Observer*, February 22, 1926.

⁴⁵ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-ninth Congress, First Session, 1925-1926, 3666-3706.

⁴⁶ Daniels in the *News and Observer*, February 24, 1926.

⁴⁷ Morrison to Simmons, January 19, 1926, Simmons Papers. Much of the remainder of this essay is drawn from two articles by Richard L. Watson, Jr., "A Political Leader Bolts: F. M. Simmons in the Presidential Election of 1928," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXVII (October, 1960), 516-543, and "A Southern Democratic Primary: Simmons vs. Bailey in 1930," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XLII (Winter, 1965), 21-46.

be elected for another six-year term in 1930. In fact, however, he was not safe politically. He was seventy-four years old and not in good health. Many of his ablest friends had died; young politicians were challenging his leadership. In 1920 O. Max Gardner had run a surprising race for governor against Cameron Morrison whom Simmons had supported. Josiah Bailey, articulate and brilliant, although claiming undying loyalty to Simmons personally, had kicked over the traces and run for governor in the primary of 1924, even though he knew that Simmons favored Angus W. McLean. McLean, with Simmons on his side, won, but rumors were rife that Simmons had come to an understanding with Gardner that McLean would get the nod in 1924—so long as Gardner could have a clear field in 1928. If Simmons had ever had a high-powered machine, by 1928 it was certainly not hitting on all its cylinders, and the election of that year reduced it to a miscellaneous pile of nuts and bolts. The center of political gravity in North Carolina was shifting from New Bern to Shelby.

Although local factors explain some of the weaknesses in the Simmons organization, it was the presidential candidacy of Alfred E. Smith that led to its final breakdown. Simmons had supported William G. McAdoo in a bitter nominating battle against Smith in 1924. In 1927 McAdoo withdrew from the running—thus removing Smith's principal antagonist for the Democratic nomination in 1928. Even in Raleigh a huge crowd roared its approval of a resolution endorsing Smith's candidacy.

Simmons, however, refused to be reconciled. He considered Smith "the weakest candidate the Democrats could nominate,"⁴⁸ and he became convinced that Smith's followers in North Carolina were out to destroy him. Thus in bitter local battles in the state he and his friends fought Smith and succeeded in choosing delegates to the Democratic National Convention most of whom were pledged to Cordell Hull. Indeed, Simmons told Senator Walter George of Georgia, a day or two before the convention, that Smith's nomination was impossible. When pressed by George as to what he would do if Smith were nominated, Simmons replied, "I've been a Democrat too long to quit the party. If the party is going to march down into the open grave, I who have been a Democrat all my life, will march down into the grave with it."

And he seems to have held this traditional position of party regularity even after Smith's nomination until Smith appointed John J. Raskob as chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Demo-

⁴⁸ Simmons to Edward N. Hahn, February 25, 1928, Simmons Papers.

cratic professionals in the South had hoped to de-emphasize the facts that Smith was a wet and a Roman Catholic. The appointment of Raskob upset that strategy. Raskob was not only a Roman Catholic and a wet—but a crusading wet. Moreover, his connections with the Du Ponts and the General Motors Corporation made it difficult to attract the anti-big-business vote. Then to cap the climax, it was discovered that *Who's Who* listed Raskob as a Republican!

Raskob's appointment shocked even Smith's supporters such as O. Max Gardner and Josiah Bailey. To Simmons it was the last straw. He was now convinced that Smith had no interest in the position of the South in the Democratic party, and he feared that the election of an urban northerner with Raskob managing the party machinery would destroy the traditional party. Shortly after Raskob's appointment, Simmons came into the office of a young New Bern lawyer, soon to be elected to the House of Representatives, and said: "For thirty years I have been loyal to my people; they have been good to me, and now that I am on the brink of the grave, before I would turn on them and put a ballot in the box for Al Smith, I would suffer my right hand to be severed."

On August 20 came Simmons' shocking announcement: he would support the state ticket—but, as he put it, "the party platform has been repudiated, the party rebuilt, the issues reframed and forces of privilege and license now are dominating and controlling the national machinery." To Simmons, Smith had bolted. "Under the circumstances," announced the Democratic senior senator from North Carolina, "I shall vote for neither candidate."

Immediately, Simmons and a few of his friends, notably his secretary Frank Hampton, threw themselves into putting together an anti-Smith organization in North Carolina. As the campaign developed, some made it a battle as much for or against Simmons as for or against Smith. Said a political advertisement:

SENATOR SIMMONS HAS NEVER LED THE
DEMOCRATS OF NORTH CAROLINA WRONG YET

KEEP YOUR IDEALS
OF SOUTHERN DEMOCRACY
SUPPORT SIMMONS

.
ACCEPT HIS PLATFORM

VOTE

THE DEMOCRATIC STATE TICKET
THE DEMOCRATIC DISTRICT TICKET

THE DEMOCRATIC COUNTY TICKET
BUT VOTE AGAINST AL SMITH

.

AND SENATOR SIMMONS ISN'T LEADING THE
DEMOCRATS OF NORTH CAROLINA WRONG NOW!⁴⁹

When the votes were counted, Hoover had won overwhelmingly and had carried southern states which had not gone Republican since Reconstruction. In North Carolina Smith had won in the rural, strongly Democratic East, but Hoover carried the state by 62,000 votes out of 635,000 cast.

Unquestionably the three factors usually given to explain Smith's defeat—his Catholicism, his hostility to prohibition, and his association with Tammany Hall—played a significant role in alienating North Carolina voters. The Ku Klux Klan was out in force against Smith; campaigning by some church leaders, the Anti-Saloon League, and the WCTU highlighted sometimes the religious issue, sometimes the prohibition issue, sometimes both. On the other hand, Smith had thousands of enthusiastic supporters who discounted his stand on prohibition, and Democratic professionals such as O. Max Gardner and Cameron Morrison, on opposite sides in 1920, and A. W. McLean and Josiah Bailey, rivals in 1924, eloquently endorsed Smith and pleaded the cause of religious toleration.

But these factors alone are not enough to explain Smith's defeat. Indeed, perhaps of most significance was the confusion in the Democratic state organization. Simmons' anti-Smith organization may have been just enough to turn the state to Hoover. Yet the political power of Simmons and his friends had never been complete, and diverse individuals and groups were ready to take advantage of any chance to destroy it. Simmons' refusal to support Smith was the chance, and from the point of view of practical politics, Simmons' action seemed indefensible. How could a professional politician with a record of forty years simply reeking with regularity fail to support his party's presidential candidate?

The answer is probably a combination of politics, pride, and principle. Simmons seems to have had no religious bias, so the Catholic question, as such, was insignificant to him. On the other hand, although he was not particularly dogmatic about prohibition, he prided himself on his record on that issue and he considered Smith's position on it immoral. Simmons' position, however, was more complex than

⁴⁹ See political advertisement in *Greensboro Daily News*, November 3, 1928.

his stand on any single issue; it involved what he saw happening to the Democratic party. To Simmons, Smith and Raskob represented the growing influence of the urban northeast and midwest. Catholicism, repeal of prohibition, immigration, Tammany, racial equality—these were largely symbols of something alien to a man who had been a professional Democratic politician for more than forty years while the South was the dominant element in the national party. It was not the Democratic party as he had known it, and he did not propose to support its national representative.

Simmons was proud of his record, and thought that it was strong enough to nullify any ill effects of his action in 1928. Yet such hopes were vain; before the votes in 1928 had been counted, he had alienated some of his friends and thus given his enemies their chance.

Their chance lay in part in statistics and in part in the obvious fact that Smith's defeat was in a presidential election in which both Democrats and Republicans voted. Republican presidential candidates always received a healthy vote in North Carolina. In 1924, for example, Republicans had polled 190,000 votes. In 1928, with a total of 635,000 votes cast, Hoover defeated Smith by a margin of 62,000 votes. A sizable Republican vote plus a relatively small anti-Smith Democratic vote of about 60,000 to 80,000 carried the state for Hoover in 1928, but a whopping 286,000 Democrats refused to follow Simmons and voted for Smith.

Now Simmons faced the unpalatable fact that in less than two years he would be up for renomination, and in the primary only registered Democrats could vote. If he was to win, he obviously must persuade 100,000 or so Smith voters to vote for him. Thus while still rejoicing over Smith's defeat, he announced that he himself was "a better Democrat than ever," that he planned to be "buried in a Democratic coffin," and that what was needed was a reorganization of the party "on the basis of the great principles of Democracy enunciated by Jefferson . . . and exemplified by Cleveland, Tilden, and Wilson. . . ." ⁵⁰

The implied assumption that he was the one to take the lead in reorganizing the party was accepted by his friends but infuriated his enemies. Many of the younger Democrats, and some of the older ones, labeled Simmons' action in 1928 as plainly a bolt and considered that his long record in the party simply made the sin unforgivable. "Simmons has passed out the political password long enough," growled one party worker. ⁵¹

⁵⁰ *News and Observer*, November 8, 19, 1928; telegram from Simmons to Robin King, November 7, 1928, Simmons Papers.

⁵¹ S. W. Andrews to Bailey, May 30, 1928, Bailey Papers.

At this point Josiah W. Bailey entered the picture once more, quietly taking the lead in sounding out anti-Simmons sentiment. Relations between these two men had been gradually deteriorating for a decade. Yet as late as mid-June, 1928, Bailey insisted that he would never personally oppose Simmons. Bailey was a Smith supporter from the beginning, however, and he became increasingly irritated by Simmons' actions. Throughout 1929 Bailey tried to get others to oppose Simmons, especially Walter P. Stacy, Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court and W. J. Brogden of Durham. Bailey was obviously wrestling with his conscience because of his pledge never to run against Simmons; yet, as he put it, he had predicated that pledge "upon [Simmons'] remaining loyal to the party."

On January 2, 1930, Bailey announced his candidacy. The announcement was greeted enthusiastically by his friends, but Simmons too received prompt assurances of support. Some described Bailey as "easy picking"; one praised Simmons as the "leader who navigated the ship of state through the troubled waters of the 'nineties.'" "Stay in Washington, keep your money, and let your friends . . . look after the election," he was advised. His hopes were boosted by pledges from former Smith supporters, and two of these, Charles Hines of Greensboro and John Langston of Goldsboro, he put at the head of his campaign organization.

Such optimism was based essentially upon the assumptions that Simmons' services to the party would be remembered, and that the "moral forces," that is, the dries, women's groups, and the religious leaders, would rally to him as they had in 1928. The Anti-Saloon League and the WCTU did support Simmons, some quite emotionally, in some fashion associating his reelection with the continuation of Prohibition. At the same time, Simmons' followers were appealing to religious and women's groups; "missionary work" as a member of his campaign committee who was also secretary of a woman's missionary society called it. Unfortunately for Simmons, Bailey's followers could remind the ladies of the record of the two men on woman suffrage. Bailey had been outspokenly in favor of it in 1917, at a time when Simmons had forthrightly told the advocates of the woman suffrage amendment that he would not support it.⁵²

An important part of Simmons' campaign technique was for him personally to stay above the campaign, and to let his record "speak for itself." He did have a legitimate reason for staying in Washington.

⁵² Simmons to Mrs. T. D. Jones, May 25, 1918, Jones-Southgate Family Papers, Duke Manuscript Department.

As ranking Democrat on the Finance Committee he would play a leading role in the special session of Congress which Hoover called in 1929 to review the tariff and to cope with the agricultural crisis. Frank Hampton made sure that the North Carolina press described in detail Simmons' leadership in revising the tariff, gaining new appropriations for improving the rivers and extending the intracoastal waterway, supporting various projects to aid the depressed farmer, and at a time when there was a veritable crusade against chain stores in the rural areas, urging their investigation by the Federal Trade Commission.

He was standing on his record, but as a professional politician, he must have known that his record alone would not reelect him. In previous elections, he could rely on his friends—"his machine" as his enemies called it—but those of his friends who were left were now divided—even some of his oldest friends such as Cameron Morrison—were now bitterly opposed to him. And very few of the young hopefuls saw their future in the party with him.

Actually the new Simmons organization worked well in only a few sections. As the primary approached even Frank Hampton became pessimistic: "ungrateful skunks . . . who have eaten bread from the Senator's table," he wrote on one occasion, "are fighting him all over the state and trying to bring a career to a close in humiliation and defeat and break his heart and throw him out in his old age."

Hampton and some others of his friends worked day and night, writing letters, telephoning, drafting broadsides, raising money, trying to obtain absentee ballots, hiring workers, claiming that Bailey's supporters were registering Negroes as Democrats in Raleigh and elsewhere, and that Bailey himself was neither sound on prohibition or on the racial question. Although Bailey denied these charges, he himself, advised by his campaign manager, C. L. Shuping of Greensboro, tried to alienate as few Democrats as possible and let his supporters ring the changes on Simmons' treachery to the party.

Primary day, June 7, 1930, was cloudy and stormy in North Carolina. A record 325,000 Democrats voted. Simmons was beaten by 70,000 votes—he carried only 16 of the 100 counties. Factors too numerous to mention here explain Simmons' defeat. It is probably, however, that had he not helped organize the anti-Smith Democrats in 1928, the seventy-six year old senator would have begun his sixth term in 1931. In any case, a political career of fifty years had come to an end.⁵³

⁵³ Overman to Bailey, June 13, 1930, Bailey Papers.

How can one assess the career of this man who held the office of U.S. senator longer than has any other North Carolinian? As Cash put it, "In him one discovers nothing of the flashing eye, the craggy mein, the Bryanesque shine which one instinctively associates with the Lord God Jehovah. . . ." He was a small man physically, with rumpled clothes, particularly unprepossessing in his later years when illness had emaciated him, and though he could speak effectively, he was certainly no spellbinder—yet he did have that undefined magnetism.

To say though, as Cash did, that his salient achievement was "to set North Carolina on a path that . . . must lead finally to Republican rule," was ridiculous. He got along well with some Republicans but he was neither the first nor last southern Democrat to make a virtue of that. He occasionally did not vote with the majority of his party—but American political parties rarely demand bloc voting. No one who really knows his record could accuse him of being a Republican.

By focusing on idiosyncracies, his record can look inconsistent—even demagogic. But in sum it was a constructive record: waterways, roads, and forest reserves, tariffs, taxes, the postal system, and agriculture benefited from his effectiveness as a legislator; and an uncounted number of his constituents benefited from the fact that his office was hospitable and sympathetic.

He miscalculated badly in 1928. He thought that he would be re-nominated in 1930 even if he refused to support the national ticket. He insisted that he was acting on principle, and his friends insisted that he was acting on principle. Yet, it was principle which did not look to the future but was, rather, rooted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; principle that let local interests take precedence over national and lacked the world view; that did not understand the complexities of such a limited problem as alcohol or of such a fundamental one as that of the city; that saw no incongruity in second-class citizens in a democracy, a position which made future solution of the racial problem more difficult; that accepted a political philosophy of rewards and punishments and the electioneering trickery of less than fastidious friends. Yet was he not speaking the language and reflecting the attitudes of his generation? How many of his political contemporaries approached these problems differently?

Although he had his enemies, he inspired confidence and even affection among many North Carolinians for many years—from the practical politicians who knew all the courthouses such as A. D. Watts and Frank Hampton, to the industrialist such as Junius Parker who described his achievements as being "greater and more admirable

than those of any North Carolinian ever in public life,"⁵⁴ to the urbane William G. McAdoo who went so far as to say that he deserved to be in the White House.⁵⁵

Cash sarcastically explained Simmons' success in maintaining his Jehovah-hood by his skillful use of white supremacy slogans and "Great Moral Ideas," and the financial support received from industrialists for favors rendered.⁵⁶ Admittedly he did use white supremacy slogans and talked about his support of the moral forces, and he was friendly with some industrialists; yet he also had a reputation for friendliness to labor, and he fought the power companies with little less fervor than George Norris when it appeared that the farmers' interests in the Tennessee Valley development were being threatened.⁵⁷ It is clear that he personally did not profit financially from his politics. He left office a poor man.

One of his closest associates once said that he had "never known a public man who strove more earnestly to do the right thing," and that Simmons' "great influence is founded upon the fact that our people trust his judgment. . . . And being so founded . . . it will last the length of his life."

How events change the mind of man! It was Josiah Bailey who so judged Simmons in 1914 and he had added, "He is the one public man of our time in North Carolina whose place is secure."⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Junius Parker to Simmons, June 9, 1930, Simmons Papers.

⁵⁵ McAdoo to Simmons, June 16, 1930, Simmons Papers.

⁵⁶ Cash, "Jehovah of the Tar Heels," 312.

⁵⁷ *News and Observer*, June 10, 1930.

⁵⁸ Bailey to the editor of the *Greensboro Daily News*, August 14, 1914.

MY BROTHER'S KEEPER: WILLIAM H. POLK GOES TO SCHOOL

EDITED BY PAUL H. BERGERON*

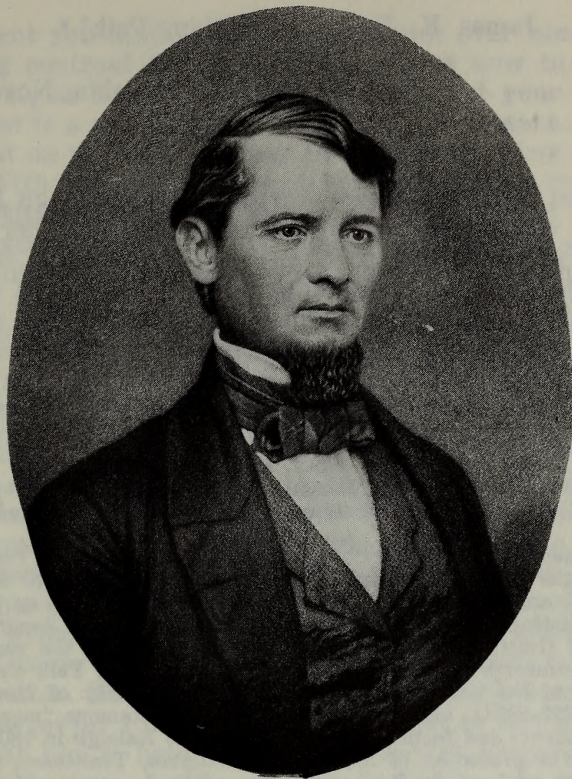
The ties of family relationships have served as a hallmark of the American scene for generations. Especially was this evident in the nineteenth century and in the region below the Mason-Dixon line. The letters which follow¹ demonstrate the concern within a family for the welfare of one of its members.

James K. Polk, the oldest child of Samuel and Jane Knox Polk, had upon the death of his father in 1827 inherited responsibility for the well-being and education of three brothers and an unmarried sister, all minors.² In the fall of 1832, before returning to Washington, D. C., as a delegate to the House of Representatives from Tennessee to the second session of the Twenty-second Congress, James K. Polk made arrangements for his brother, seventeen-year-old William H. Polk, to

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¹ All of the letters used in this article are with the James K. Polk Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., unless otherwise indicated. Five of the letters were included in Elizabeth Gregory McPherson (ed.), "Unpublished Letters from North Carolinians to Polk," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (January, April, 1939), 68-69, 72, 74, 77, hereinafter cited as McPherson, "Letters to Polk," and are being reprinted at this time in the interest of continuity. The spelling and punctuation of the date and place of origin of each letter have been modernized and standardized. For purposes of clarity paragraph divisions and punctuation have been supplied in certain instances. To conserve space, complimentary closes and signatures have been omitted. Concluding paragraphs of the letters dated November 28, December 6, and December 13, 1832, have been omitted because they do not pertain to William H. Polk's schooling.

² Samuel Polk was survived by his widow, Jane Knox Polk, and ten children: James Knox, b. 1795; Jane Maria, b. 1798; Lydia Eliza, b. 1800; Franklin Ezekiel, b. 1802; Marshall Tate, b. 1805; John Lee, b. 1807; Naomi Tate, b. 1809; Ophelia Clarissa, b. 1812; William Hawkins, b. 1815; Samuel Washington, b. 1817. At the time the three oldest girls were already married. James K. Polk and James Walker, the husband of Jane Maria, were named coexecutors of Samuel Polk's "large estate, including over fifty slaves and thousands of acres of land." Mrs. Frank M. Angelotti, "The Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXXVII (1923), 221-223, hereinafter cited as Angelotti, "The Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee" (1923); Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., *James K. Polk, Jacksonian, 1795-1843* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 114-115, hereinafter cited as Sellers, *James K. Polk*.



William H. Polk, a younger brother of James K. Polk, who came to North Carolina in the fall of 1832 to enter Hillsborough Academy in anticipation of enrolling at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Photograph from the files of the Department of Archives and History.

go to North Carolina in anticipation of enrolling at the university just as he himself had done in 1815.³ In preparation for joining a class at Chapel Hill, William first went to Hillsborough in order to attend the Hillsborough Academy, popularly known as the Bingham School.⁴

³ For an account of James K. Polk's experiences as a student at the University of North Carolina, see Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., "Jim Polk Goes to Chapel Hill," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIX (April, 1952), 189-203, hereinafter cited as Sellers, "Jim Polk Goes to Chapel Hill."

⁴ After serving one year as principal of the Hillsborough Academy, the Reverend William Bingham, an honor graduate of the University of Glasgow, moved to Mount Repose, eleven miles northwest of Hillsborough, and opened a private school. Upon the death of the Reverend Bingham in February, 1826, his son William James Bingham, gave up his profession as a lawyer, took over the school at Mount Repose, and finished out the term. On January 1, 1827, William James Bingham became principal of the Hillsborough Academy and served in that capacity until 1844. It was during the tenure of the latter that the academy began to be called the Bingham School; in 1864 a son of William James Bingham and two other relatives secured a charter from the legislature for the incorporation of "The Bingham School." Charles L. Coon (ed.), *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840: A Documentary History* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1915), vi-viii, 280-295; Ruth Blackwelder, *The Age of Orange: Political and Intellectual*

James K. Polk to [William Polk] ⁵

Columbia, November 2, 1832

My Dear Sir

On monday last brother *William* started to Hillsborough N.C. to school. He set out and will travel in company with *Laura* & her two children (brother *Marshall's* widow & children)⁶ to Charlotte, & will there take the stage. I have written to Mr Bingham to take charge of him in his school, and to instruct him in the studies preparatory to his admission into the University—where if he does well, I intend that he shall graduate.

In your letter to me at Washington last winter in answer to one which I had written to you upon the subject, your advice was, to send him to that

Leadership in North Carolina, 1752-1861 (Charlotte: William Loftin, Publisher, 1961), 122-123; Samuel A. Ashe and Others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), VI, 65-82, *passim*, hereinafter cited as Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*.

⁵ Letter is in possession of Mrs. T. P. Yeatman of Mt. Pleasant, Tennessee. William Polk (1758-1834), the recipient of this letter, was a first cousin to Samuel Polk, the father of James K. and William H. Polk. A native of Mecklenburg County, William Polk served with distinction in the Continental line during the American Revolution. After the battle of Guilford Courthouse, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel and was henceforth known as "Colonel Polk." Colonel Polk was an active and influential member of the board of trustees of the University of North Carolina for forty-two years (1792-1834), and he was author of the infamous "monitor law," which was despised by students and faculty alike. He moved to Raleigh in 1800 and died there in January, 1834. The probaton of his will in Columbia, Tennessee, revealed that he owned 100,000 acres of land in that state. According to a granddaughter "General Jackson was a small boy at school with Colonel Polk at Charlotte, North Carolina. They were life-long friends in North Carolina and Tennessee." Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 361-368, *passim*; Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 2 volumes, 1907-1912), I, 304-309, hereinafter cited as Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*; William Bruce Turner, *History of Maury County, Tennessee* (Nashville: Parthenon Press, c. 1955), 244, 256, hereinafter cited as Turner, *Maury County*; Mary Polk Branch, *Memoirs of a Southern Woman "Within the Lines" and a Genealogical Record* (Chicago: Joseph G. Branch Publishing Company, 1912), 77, 80, hereinafter cited as Branch, *Memoirs of a Southern Woman*.

⁶ Marshall Tate Polk had died at the age of twenty-six in the spring of 1831, leaving his widow and two children, Roxana (called Eunice Ophelia), aged eight, and Marshall Tate, Jr., aged eighteen months. Immediately after their marriage on October 27, 1827, Marshall and his bride, Laura Wilson Polk, had moved from Charlotte to Tennessee. In a letter to J. K. and Sarah Polk dated January 5, 1828, Jane Polk reported: "Your brother Marshall and sister Laura is living with me. I think Laura is a very fine agreeable girl. She is kind and good to me. She is none of your high dashers, she is mild and modest, converses sencibly and loves to go to Church. . . ." Laura was apparently unhappy in Tennessee, however; in a letter to William A. Graham dated March 31, 1829, Alfred Graham reported that "Marshall Polk is practicing law here and is living with Joe Willson at Charlotte. His wife is determined not to go back to Tennessee." Marshall was the second son Jane Knox Polk had lost in 1831, and she would lose yet another before the year's end. Mrs. Frank M. Angelotti, "The Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXXVIII (1924), 48, hereinafter cited as Angelotti, "The Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee" (1924); J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Papers of William Alexander Graham* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 4 volumes, 1957-1961), I, 170, 187; Jane Polk letter quoted in Sellers, *James K. Polk*, 116; Angelotti, "The Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee" (1923), 221-223.

school, & if sent you kindly offered to exercise over him whilst there a superintending controul & guardianship. I have now to ask the favour of you to do so, as far as may be necessary and your convenience will permit. *William* is a well disposed boy, & is by no means deficient in point of intellect, but on the contrary may be considered a boy of very respectable talents; With proper application he may maintain a respectable standing at any institution. I am not aware that he is as yet addicted to any bad habits—except that of a very great disposition to extravagance in dress, in attending theaters—and other places of light amusement. I have written to Mr Bingham that he must be restrained in this respect, and with a view more effectually to accomplish it I have not given him much money to start with. His expenses will be paid to Charlotte & he will have, when he takes the stage at that place \$60.—to bear his expenses to Hillsboro'—to buy such books as he may need &c. He has his winter & spring clothes & need buy none before summer if then. I am thus particular, because I am satisfied his inclination to extravagance & idleness is the point of danger. To give you some idea of the extent of these, I was a few days before he left home astonished [*sic*] to learn the amt. of his acts. in the stores & shops in town; For a period of but little more than two years (since July 1830) his accounts amounted to near \$700.00. He had dealt [?] without our knowledge in almost every store in town. Upon making the discovery I gave him a severe reprimand, & he promised to reform & do better. He promises to be studious [*sic*] & to avoid extravagance. Still how[ev]er I do not think it prudent to rely altogether on his promises. I wish him to have what money may be proper & necessary for his comfort, & no more, & thus put it out of his power to spend. With a view to this I have conversed with *Lucius*⁷ who thinks it may suit you, for me to pay to him here, such amounts from time to time as may be necessary, and for you to advance to him as he may need. Will such an arrangement suit you? If not I will make remittances to you, if I can get the favour of you to control him, in his expenditures & furnish him money *only* when *you* think he needs it—& ought to have it. I feel great solicitude in regard to him—and if he can be restrained from extravagance, by depriving him of the possession of much money at a time he may & I hope will become studious & make a steady respectable man. One thing is certain—that if he is not restrained in this respect, there is every prospect that he will be a spendth[r]ift—and possibly become abandoned to other vices. He is addicted to no other bad habits—*drinks I believe not a drop*. I have told *him* and have also written to Mr Bingham that he is not permitted whilst there to contract a single account. Wh[atev]er he needs he must pay for when he gets it. I wrote to Mr. Bingham also & requested him to draw on you for money for him, when *he* thought it necessary, and

⁷ Lucius Polk, a son of Colonel Polk, had gone to Tennessee in 1823 to manage his father's extensive land holdings there. At the time of this letter he was serving as a member of the state senate. According to Mary Polk Branch, "Hamilton Place," the residence of General Lucias [*sic*] Polk was built by my grandfather, who sent workmen from North Carolina in wagons, to prepare a home for his son and his bride, who was to be Mary Easton [*sic*], niece of Mrs. Andrew Jackson, the wife of the president. The marriage took place at the 'White House,' and was very pleasing both to General Jackson and my grandfather. . . ." Sellers, *James K. Polk*, 93; Turner, *Mauvy County*, 246; Branch, *Memoirs of a Southern Woman*, 77.

that he must be the judge when he did need it. I told *William* this. He said he was perfectly willing that *you* should be the judge of what he ought to spend, and that he would obey you in that respect, and also in any thing else that you directed,—but was unwilling to be controlled by Mr Bingham. You can manage that as you think best,—and can make the remittances when necessary—either to *Mr Bingham* (which I think safest if he will submit to it) or to himself. I leave that to you. In a word, if you will manage and controul him in evry respect whilst there as you would your own son, you will confer an additional lasting obligation. I have written to you as an old frind of the family, freely in regard to him, and from *you* have concealed nothing. I have thought that by your influence & control over him—he might be reclaimed—and I doubt not he will be. Mr Bingham I believe takes a few boarders in his own family & I have written to him (if convenient) to take *William* as one of them, where he can be under his immediate observation.

William will probably be at Hillsboro' about the time this reaches you & I suggest (if it be not too much trouble) that it might be well for you to write to him & give him such advice, (in a gentle way) as you might think proper. If it is vacation when he arrives, I have instructed him to review his studies—& be prepared to enter a class at the beginning of the Session.

I saw Lucius a few days ago. All well.

N B I start to Washington in a few days. Write to me to that place.

William J. Bingham to James K. Polk

Hillsborough, November 20, 1832

Dr. Sir

Your brother Wm. arrived on Sunday last. The letter in advance of him had reached me in due time. I regret much that my rooms were all occupied, so that it was impossible for me to accommodate him. One of my boys leaves in a month, and Wm. can fill the vacancy. Until then, I have placed him at Mrs. Burgwin's, where his cousin George Polk⁸ boards. I think it rather probable, that like most boys, he will prefer *absence* from the immediate and constant supervision of his teacher, & will therefore incline to remain in his present quarters. In which event, it will be necessary, either *for you* to write again on that subject, or *for me* to make use of your first communication.

Of Wm.'s acquisitions I am not yet able to speak positively, having given him a very slight examination.⁹ He wishes to enter a class preparing for the Freshman in the Univ.—next July—The effort seems rather her-

⁸ George Washington Polk was a son of Colonel Polk, therefore a cousin of William H. Polk. Turner, *Maury County*, 247.

⁹ As one of the state's leading educators in the pre-college schools, William James Bingham was well versed in the requirements for entrance into the university. He was not only an alumnus but was an active participant in the affairs of the university. See Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 300, 339-340, 346, 618, 648, 694.

culean; but energy and capacity may achieve it. At all events the effort will be of service to him, & I feel disposed to encourage it. It implies unremitted labor during both the winter and summer holidays, and this he professes willingness to encounter. He can join the class on Latin, and I will give him private tuition in Greek. The necessity of his taking private tuition, makes it additionally desirable, as a matter of convenience, that he should be an inmate in my family: and yet I should be unwilling to receive him, were he not *perfectly* willing to come. I wish this matter settled at once, as there are already two applications for the vacancy above alluded to, and I am disposed (should it be perfectly *agreeable* to himself) to give the preference to the brother of my departed friend.¹⁰

It is our custom to require board & tuition by the session in advance. Board is 10\$ pr month—\$53.33 $\frac{1}{3}$ for the first session of the year—5 $\frac{1}{2}$ months—and \$46.66 $\frac{2}{3}$ for the second session—4 $\frac{2}{3}$ months. Tuition is \$15.50 a session. Vacation tuition is equal to that of the session. However \$15.50 shall cover your brother's tuition for the remaining month of the present session as well as the vacation. The next session will commence about the 20th of Jany. His board & tuition charges 'till then will amount to \$35.50.—for the next session \$68.83 $\frac{1}{3}$. Books will not cost much, & you will know what allowance to make for clothing. From the above data you will be able to form an estimate of the advance proper to be made at the beginning of the next session.

May I request you to inform The Hon Wm. B. Shepard¹¹ of N.C.—that his letter is recd. & the arrangement made perfectly convenient & satisfactory.

P.S. 'Board' including lodging, fuel, candles & washing \$10 pr month.¹²

William H. Polk to James K. Polk

Hillsborough, November 21, 1832

Dear Brother

I arrived here last Sunday and went to see Mr B.[ingham] and he said

¹⁰ The allusion here is probably to the late Marshall Tate Polk. Marshall and William James Bingham graduated from the university together in the class of 1825, with first and second honors, respectively. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 300.

¹¹ William Biddle Shepard of Elizabeth City served four terms as a congressman, 1829-1837. Shepard had been a student at the university with James K. Polk, but was expelled in September, 1816, during his senior year for publicly attacking President Robert H. Chapman's policy on the War of 1812, which many students believed to be unpatriotic. Shepard moved temporarily to Philadelphia, the home of his cousin Nicholas Biddle, and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. Shepard served as a member of the board of trustees of the University of North Carolina from 1838 to 1852. The message in Bingham's letter may have reference to James Biddle Shepard, who graduated from the university at the top of his class in 1834. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), 1591; Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VII, 421-422; Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 236; Sellers, "Jim Polk Goes to Chapel Hill," 200-201.

¹² James K. Polk's endorsement on the envelope of this letter states that he answered it on November 30, 1832. Unfortunately that letter is not available.

that there was a class that would enter college in the lowest class next June and that he would put me in it and if I could keep up I would enter at the same time. I spoke to him about Boarding; he said that he could not board me this session but procured it for me at a place about a mile from town. George Polk is boarding at the same place and is in the same class and I would prefer boarding at the same place next session with him. He says that he has been boarding there for two years. Write me if you have any objections.

Sister Laura found her mother¹³ very ill and did not expect her to live long when I left there. Little Marshal[l] improved very much on the way. Mr Fulsom would start back on last Monday. The horses stood the trip very well. Write me as soon as you receive this so I will get it before the begining of next session.

P S Give my love to Sister Sarah¹⁴ and tell her she must write to me.¹⁵

James K. Polk to William Polk¹⁶

Washington, November 28, 1832

My Dear Sir

Since my arrival here, I have received a letter from brother *William* advising me that he had reached Hillsborough and had commenced school with Mr Bingham. Before I left home I troubled you with a long letter in regard to him, and among other things desired to know whether it would be convenient for you to furnish the funds which he may need from time to time, upon our paying the same amounts to Lucius in Tennessee; or if that would not be convenient, whether if we make the remittances to you, you would do us the favour, to superintend his expenditures & controul him in that respect, as well as in evry other which you might deem advisable. I wrote to you fully and freely what our fears were in relation to him, and that our wish was that you should controul him whilst at school pr[e]cisely as you would your own son. I have as yet received no answer, and have to ask the favour of you to write me as soon as convenient on the subject. I hope in the request which I make I do not impose too much trouble upon you; but if it be too inconvenient for you to attend to it, write to me immediately.

¹³ Laura's mother was Mary Wood Wilson, the wife of Judge Joseph Wilson. Angelotti, "The Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee" (1924), 48.

¹⁴ Sarah Childress Polk, a native of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, and James K. Polk were married on New Year's Day, 1824. Sarah Childress was a student at the Moravian Academy in Salem for one year but was called home in 1819 because of the death of her father. In 1844 Marshall Tate Polk, Jr., went to live with the James K. Polks, who were childless. Laura Wilson Polk had in the meantime married Dr. W. C. Tate of Morganton. Sellers, *James K. Polk*, 93, 75-76, 459; McPherson, "Letters to Polk," 76n.

¹⁵ James K. Polk indicates that he answered this letter on November 28, 1832; his reply has not been uncovered, however.

¹⁶ Letter is in the Polk-Yeatman Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

William H. Polk to James K. Polk

Hillsborough, December 5, 1832

Dear Brother

I received your letter this evening in which you stated that it was your opinion that it would be to my advantage to board with Mr Bingham. I would prefer boarding with George Polk as[?] I told you before because I know no persons here and he is in the same class and appears a little nearer to me than any person else. He has been very clever to me since I have been here and Mr Bingham has so many litle boys with him that I could not study half as well as I can where I am. I intended to go down to Raleigh and spend a few days while the asembly was in session and then return here and say private lessons every day to Mr Bingham. I can study better here; there will be no persons here [to] disturb me. I know I can learn as much here as I could at Mr Bingham's if any thing more than I could there.

As for paying the \$35.50 cts I have not got that much. It took \$13 to bring me from Charlotte here. I was obliged to have a hat when I got here because mine was worn out and not fit to ware. That cost me eight dollars and I have spent ten dollars for books that I was obliged to hav. I hav not got more than twenty dollars & I had to buy a pair [of] shoes when I got here for I forgot a pair in Charlotte and several other litle things that I had to get. I hav not spent a cent but for things that I was obliged to have. I have ben as saving as I possibly could be. You must write me when you receive this. Give my respects to Sister Sarah.

P. S. I am determined to keep up with the class if stud[y]ing will do it.¹⁷

William Polk to James K. Polk

Raleigh, December 6, 1832

Dear Sir

I am in receipt of your letters of the 2d and 27th [28th] of Novr. The former would have been answered sooner had I been certain as to where to address it. The latter gave me the first information of Williams having reached Hillsborough. Doctor Polk¹⁸ leaves th[e]n in the morning, by whom I write to my Son G W. P. directing him to ask William to accompany him to Raleigh, to spend his vacation which commences some time next week.

¹⁷ James K. Polk's endorsement on the envelope indicates that he answered this letter on December 13, 1832. The written reply is apparently unavailable.

¹⁸ Dr. William Julius Polk was a son of Colonel Polk. He graduated from the university in 1813 and later obtained an M.D. degree from the Philadelphia Medical University. Though living in North Carolina at this time, he moved to Maury County, Tennessee, in 1836 and settled in Columbia in 1837. Turner, *Maury County*, 245-246; Angelotti, "The Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee (1923), 251; Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 788.

I will with pleasure take charge of such funds as may be placed in my hands for the use of your Brother; and will deal it out to him with the liberality & eoconimy as I do to my Son, which has been sparing, but sufficient for all his wants. The transmission of funds from Tennessee to N.C. are entirely stoped except through some friend who may be coming from there to this place—hence it will not be convenient to make the advances, depending on the uncertainty of a regular remnssion[?]. Checks on the Bank of N.C. or any of the Eastern U.S. Banks can be negoeiated here without difficulty.

James K. Polk to William Polk¹⁹

Washington, December 13, 1832

Dear Sir

Enclosed I send you a draft on the U.S. Bank at Philadelphia for one hundred dollars—towards defraying brother William's expenses at the school at Hillsboro'. Mr Bingham writes to me that his expenses—board & tuition both included, from the time he entered school until the 20th of Janry—at which time the next Session commences will be \$35.50—and that his board and tuition for the next Session will be \$68.83 $\frac{2}{3}$ cents. The board and tuition he writes to me are by the rules of the school to be paid in advance at the commencement of each Session. William's expenses from home to Charlotte were paid, by the man I employed to drive the carriage, and at that place he had \$60.00 to bear his expenses to Hillsboro'—buy books &c. He writes to me that he has already spent upwards of \$40. and has less than \$20. rema[i]ning. I mention this, that you may have an eye to him. He needed[?] no clothing and I apprehend he may have commenced a scale[?] of expenditures corresponding with that in which he had been in the habit of indulging for the last year or two. I am much gratified that you are willing to take him under your controul as well in regard to his expense as to evry thing else. He is apprized that you are to direct him in all things,—that he is to look to you for money when he needs it, and professes an entire willingness to obey you.

I wrote to Mr Bingham requesting him to permit him to board in his family. In his answer he agrees to do so after the expiration of the present Session, and states that in the meanwhile he had placed him at the same boarding house at which your son is. *William* has recently written me a pressing letter to permit him to remain at the same boarding house with *George* during the next Session. My impression is that it would be to his advantage to board with Mr. Bingham, but like most other boys he will probably be unwilling to be constantly under the eye of his teacher. I would thank you to *direct* him where he is to board,—and he will I have no doubt do as you may say.

When I return home I will make you a further retainer.

¹⁹ Letter is in possession of Mrs. T. P. Yeatman.

William Polk to James K. Polk

Raleigh, December 26, 1832

Dear Sir

Your letter of the 13th instant covering a check on the U.S. Bank for \$100 has been recd. At the time of the rect. William was with me having come down with George when the Session closed. He stayed with us about ten days, and returned with the intention of attending his studies so as to enable him to enter College in July next, and assured me he would make every exertion to accomplish that object. He informed me that it was your wish that he would board with Mr. Bingham and solicited my permission that he might remain where he had been at Mr. Burgwins. He says & George supports the fact; that at Mr Bingham's the rooms are small and uncomfortable; & that a great proportion of the boarders are small boys. Under these representations, I gave William liberty to remain with Mr. Burgwin at where he had been.

William informed me that he had expended all the money that was given him, but about \$10 or 15 in getting to Hillsbo. & in the purchase of Books. I therefore gave him the 100 sent by you to me for his board &c. for the next Session telling him that it behooved him to act economical [*sic*] for that unless he could show a satisfactory disbursement, he had got all that he might expect untill next Session. I think he promises to do well. His conduct whilst here, was such as entirely to meet my approbation.

Mr. Bingham's misgivings concerning William H. Polk's ability to pass the entrance examinations at the university as expressed in his letter of November 20, 1832, to James K. Polk, were well founded. Although William's name appears on the attendance rolls for prayers and classes for the August, 1833, and the January, 1834, terms, he did not matriculate.²⁰ The following correspondence took place after William was enrolled at the university, probably classified as an "irregular" student,²¹ and apparently after Colonel Polk and James K.

²⁰ When James K. Polk took the entrance examination at the university he was given credit for all of the freshman and half of the sophomore year. Sellers, "Jim Polk Goes to Chapel Hill," 191.

²¹ The university faculty reports for the years 1833 and 1834 are missing, and it has not been possible to determine precisely what were William H. Polk's scholastic deficiencies. On the class attendance rolls he is listed for the August, 1833, term as a student in the classes of [James Hogg] Norwood, [William Nelson] Mebane, and [Thomas Lapley] Armstrong; and for the January, 1834, term as a student in the classes of [Walker] Anderson, [J. DeBerniere] Hooper, Norwood, and Mebane. All of the foregoing were classified as tutors except Anderson, who was "Professor of Rhetoric and Logick." William H. Polk was not listed among the twenty-seven regular students of the freshman class who were examined in December, 1833, and June, 1834. George W. Polk was listed as a regular student for the August, 1833, term but during the December, 1833, examinations he was "disapproved on Greek," and his name was dropped from the list of regular students for the January, 1834, term. See University of North Carolina Faculty Reports, 1831-1841, University of North Carolina Student Records, 1833-1849, unnumbered pages 157-163, Southern Historical Collection; Staff of the North Carolina Collection (compilers), "Register of the Officers and Faculty of the University of North Carolina, 1795-1945" (Chapel Hill: unpublished manuscript, 1954), North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 421.

Polk had discussed the situation *vis-à-vis* in Tennessee during the summer or early fall of 1833.²²

William Polk to James K. Polk

Raleigh, October 22, 1833

Dear Sir

On my getting to Chapel Hill I sent for William, and upon interrogating him with regard to his wants and debts, I found both to be considerable. Since which I learn that he is quite destitute of shirts and some other cloathing: which I deemed necessary he should be furnished with immediately. I wrote him last week to come down and to bring his unpaid accounts. He has done so and I find his debt to one house for goods &c. upwards of \$80—that his board for the present session unpaid; and I presume upon some other small debts. He has an account with a Merchant Taylor of \$40—and for purchases made of a Merchant about \$19, making an aggregate debt *due* of about \$180. His want of cloathing I considered as indispensable, and have therefore advanced him the whole of the money sent by me viz. \$80 which as you will observe not half meet his present wants.

William H. Polk to James K. Polk

Chapel Hill, November 25, 1833

Dear Brother

I received your letter of 21st Oct in which you said you did not know how it was that I spent more money than Col Polk's son. I can account for that very easy. He gets all his cloth's from home and I have to buy mine. If you will send me money enough to pay all my debts and 150 dollars at the begining of every session I will not ask you for any more and I think it will be little enough.

I owe about thirty dollars more for my winter cloths.²³ I would not have gone in debt for them if I could have got them any other way. If you intend to let me have money to pay my debts you must send it to me as soon as

²² In the letter immediately following Colonel Polk mentions "money sent by me" for William H. Polk; see also the next-to-the-last paragraph of the letter from James K. Polk to Colonel Polk dated January 5, 1834.

²³ At a meeting of the board of trustees of the university on December 19, 1827, an earlier regulation establishing the proper habiliments for students was altered to provide "That the dress of the students shall be uniform and shall consist in *summer* of a Coatee in color of a grey mixture and of waistcoat and trowsers of white, and in *winter* of Coatee, waistcoat and trowsers of a dark grey mixture.—The use of Boots is prohibited, and it is recommended to the Students to consult plainness, economy and neatness in every part of their apparel.—" "Minutes of the Trustees of the University of North Carolina," December 4, 1823-December 19, 1840, typed transcript in the North Carolina Collection, 82-83.

you can for they are pushing me for it and I cannot study when I have such things on my mind.

Genl Polk of Salisbury²⁴ passed through here on yesterday and said that he saw sister Laura and the children and they were very well. Give my love to sist [*sic*] Sarah and tell her she must excuse me for not answering her letter and I will write to her in a few days.

James K. Polk to William Polk²⁵

Washington, January 5, 1834

Dear Sir

I have received several letters from brother William since I have been here, the last of which was written at Raleigh on the 26th ult. Supposing it possible that he might still be at Raleigh I inclose to you a letter for him. If he has returned to the University, will you forward it to him.

In regard to his debts contracted without my authority and against my express order, I have written to him, that I have no authority as executor to pay them, but that if he will write to me that he will contract no more debts, and that the excess over \$300 pr. annum shall be paid out of his own estate, that I would make arrangements to have the money forwarded to you for him. I have written to him, that for the future he must limit his expenses within \$300 pr. year and that if he exceeds that sum the excess must be paid out of his own estate.

I have to request you however to furnish him with the amount which may be necessary for his next Session's tuition, board and other necessary expenses. His debts already contracted must remain over until I hear from him. If it is convenient for you to make the advance to him—of the amt. which may be necessary for the next Session—I will thank you [to] do so, and write to me the amt. that I may cause it to be remitted to you.

William writes to me that he wishes to leave the University and go to Nashville. I have answered him that he cannot be permitted [to] do so, but must remain. I have written him further, as indeed I had before done, that he must employ his vacations in bringing up his Greek studies—so as to enable him to be in regular standing in his class. I hope he will do so, though I confess I have my fears he will not. I hope you will give him such advice and directions as you may think right.

Your son Rufus²⁶ spent a few days here during the holidays. I took him to the President's who treated him with great kindness, invited [him] to dine, &c. and I dined with him at the President's. He was very well and is I think a very promising boy.

²⁴ Thomas Gilchrist Polk was a brigadier general in the state militia and was quite active in politics at this time. Angelotti, "The Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee," (1923), 261.

²⁵ Letter is in the Polk Family of North Carolina Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁶ Rufus King Polk was nineteen years of age at the time. After Colonel Polk's death he moved to Tennessee. Angelotti, "The Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee" (1923), 215.

Chapel Hill N.C.
January 16th 1834

Dear Brother

I received your letter before Sept Raleigh
and the ten dollars which you inclosed and if I had not
have got that I would have been in a bad way for
Col (PENN) was very sick when he received your letter
to furnish me with money for the present season
and was not able to transact any business whatever
and I remained several days thinking that he would
get better and be able to ~~send~~ me with the

love to Sister Sarah and to
excuse me for not writing to her and
give her my reasons for not doing so in a
letter before long — Your affectionate

Brother

Wm. H. Polk

P.S. I would not request you to send
me the \$15 for the society if I could
dispense with it on any terms

Wm. H. Polk

Pictured above is a partial reproduction of William H. Polk's letter to James K. Polk dated "January 16th 1834" and transcribed in full in this article. The original letter is in the Library of Congress.

I am sorry to learn that you have been in feeble health since you left Tennessee, but hope when I next hear from you to learn that your health is restored.

Mrs. P. desires to be kindly remembered to Mrs. P. and yourself.

William H. Polk to James K. Polk

Chapel Hill, January 16, 1834

Dear Brother

I received your letter before I left Raleigh and the ten dollars which you inclosed and if I had not have got that I would have been in a bad way for Col Polk was very sick when he received your letter to furnish me with money for the presant session and was not able to transact any buisness [*sic*] whatever. And I remained several days thinking that he would get better and be able to furnish me with the money but he died on the 13th. He had a continual vometing so that nothing would lay on his stomach. He died very easy and retained his senses till the last moment and I thought that it would be better for me to return to Chapel Hill and study by myself so as I would not be to[o] far behind my class. And I will not be able to join college until I receive money from you to pay my expences. I owe the dialectic society \$15 for my entrence in the society which cannot be postponed²⁷ and I would be very much obliged to you if

²⁷ Since 1796 there had existed on the campus of the university two literary societies which eventually assumed the permanent names of the Dialectic and the Philanthropic. Although organized primarily to encourage students to form lasting friendships and to promote useful knowledge by development of proficiency in the arts of debating, composing, and declaiming, the societies for all practical purposes exercised control over the entire student body and demonstrated "one of the earliest successful examples of student government." A student was virtually obligated to join and maintain membership in one of the societies in order to reside on the campus. In addition to the entrance dues, which were \$8.00 at the time William H. Polk became a member in August, 1833, the societies assessed and collected fines from members for every infraction of the rules of the university and of the society. Fines were graduated upward in accordance with the seriousness of the infraction, the heaviest penalty, \$6.00, being levied for not wearing the society's badge. Some of the other fines were: laughing so as to be heard by his neighbor, talking without permission or excuse, leaning his chair upon any part of the Hall, 10 cents; taking more than one volume from the library under one envelope, being absent from prayers without good excuse, being unnecessarily absent from recitation, throwing hard substances in passages, 25 cents; playing ball in the passages or in the student rooms, sitting in the windows of the Hall, reading the same composition twice in the Hall, 50 cents; being absent from the society's weekly meeting without sufficient excuse, casting personal reflections on any member, not paying arrears to the society before entering at the commencement of college, \$1.00; playing cards (except during exams) or being intoxicated, \$5.00.

The minutes of the Dialectic Society and the society's account book reveal that William H. Polk was fined frequently from August, 1833, to June, 1834, and while no specific descriptions of the infractions are given in the minutes, the attendance books for prayers and classes indicate that for one or both he was absent or tardy many times. At the society's meeting of May 28, 1834, William and three others were reported for intoxication and fined \$5.00; at the next meeting, however, on June 4, 1834, all four of the fines were repealed.

At the March 5, 1834, meeting of the society, William Polk and William Hooper were chosen for vacancies on the library committee; on March 26, 1834, William and

you will send it on to me when you send me the money to pay my tuition board et cetera which will amount to \$101.00 including the fifteen dollars for the Society which you must send on as soon as you can conveniently [sic]. I received a letter from Samuel and he said all was well and the Jackson College²⁸ had 166 scollars. Give my love to sister Sarah and tell her she must excuse me for not writing to her—and I will give her my reasons for not doing so in a letter before long.

P.S. I would not request you to send me the \$15 for the society if I could dispence with it on any terms.

James K. Polk and James Walker to William H. Polk²⁹

Washington, April 16, 1834

Dear William

We have consulted together much, and anxiously endeavored to come to a conclusion in relation to you that we hope may have a beneficial influence on you now & on your destiny through life. In reading over your letters it is painful to perceive that your whole mind seems to be ingrossed to effect the object of getting money. We unfortunately too perceive that you seem

George Polk were chosen committeemen; and on May 21, 1834, William was elected to the office of *censor-morum*.

The Dialectic and Philanthropic societies each provided a private library for the use of its members, and the societies competed enthusiastically in the matter of acquiring and maintaining the largest number of books. Not only were society funds used to finance the purchase and binding of books, the members took it upon themselves individually and in groups to donate books to the society's library. Among the titles contributed to the Dialectic Society library by William, alone or with others, were the novels, *Delaware or the Ruined Family* and *Emma*; a nine-volume set of Hume's *History of England*; and the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolutionary War*.

On November 6, 1833, William Polk was assigned to open a debate the following week in the affirmative on the topic, "Is the Salic Law Either Wise or Just?," and Hamilton Hargrove was instructed to take the opposing side. The debate was postponed at the next meeting in order that the members might hear a reading of the laws, and there is no indication in the minutes that the debate was ever held and, if so, whether the vote was in the affirmative or the negative.

The society's account book shows that William made a payment of \$15.00 on January 30, 1834, and that when he left the campus in June, 1834, he still had a debit balance of \$4.56.

See Dialectic Society Papers (Minutes, Treasurers' Reports, Addresses, Dues Book, By-Laws), Southern Historical Collection; Hallie S. McLean, "The History of the Dialectic Society, 1795-1860" (unpublished master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1950), *passim*.

²⁸ Samuel Washington Polk was the youngest child of Samuel and Jane Knox Polk. He died in February, 1839, at the age of twenty-one. Angelotti, "The Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee" (1923), 221-223.

In 1829 the Manual Labor Academy, located in Maury County, was granted a charter by the state legislature. It opened in 1830 at a location about two miles south of Spring Hill. In 1833, when the school moved to another location, its name was changed to Jackson College. Finally in 1836 the school was moved to Columbia, where it remained until it was destroyed by fire in 1863. In 1848 the Masonic lodges of Maury County took over the management of the school. Turner, *Maury County*, 129-130.

²⁹ James K. Polk and James Walker were brothers-in-law and coexecutors of Samuel Polk's estate. This letter, written in Walker's hand, is probably a copy of the original.

to think that the money you ask for is your own, and that you have a right to do as you please with it, and pledge yourself to account fully when you are of age. It is true that if we were to yield to your wishes we would be but permitting you to spend your own money, but we should violate a most sacred duty, which we owe you, our own family reputation, and betray the confidence reposed in us by your father. You may think this strange language—it is nevertheless true, and if you come to be the man we yet hope you will, in after life you will be satisfied that the course we find it necessary and our duty now to pursue, although it causes you present mortification, is the only one calculated to promote your real interests and to make you a valuable man. You have strength of mind and talents to make you an ornament to our family, if your energies and faculties are properly applied and directed. It is with pain we perceive that your whole mind seems to be engaged in extravagant desires to spend money and from the amount you request to pay off your debts, we fear that you are getting into habits that must inevitably destroy you.

We have upon deliberation concluded upon a course that imperious duty and necessity rend us necessary to pursue towards you. We propose to inform you what that course is, and to assure you that we are unalterably determined to adhere to it—we will endeavor to do you all the kindness we can until you come of age—then what you are to be depends on yourself.

In the first place then we yield to your wishes to leave Chappel Hill at the end of the present session,³⁰ and go to Nashville, there enter College regularly with a view to graduate at that or some other good institution—as to *money* we will be rigid, we will under no circumstances permit you to have more than \$300 pr year—which must pay for your education, and all expenses—our own experience satisfies us that this amount of money is sufficient to render your appearance genteel and you in every way comfortable. This sum will be annually furnished you by Mr. Walker in such manner as you may need, and will you may rely on it not be exceeded. As we deem this amount sufficient, and that more would be injurious to you, we shall take pains to prevent your mother from letting you have even a cent and all others from advancing with a hope of your repaying when of age. We have also consulted upon the propriety of paying your present debts in North Carolina incurred without our sanction, and have concluded not to do so³¹—your creditors must wait until you are of age, and then depend on your honor—we are aware that this decision will be mortifying to you, but it is one produced by painful necessity. If mortification, and want of money will alone teach you the proper use and value of money and time we must inflict the pain. When you left Tennessee for North Carolina we informed you that we could not sanction or furnish the means of spending more

³⁰ A local resident of Chapel Hill reported that William left about the middle of June, 1834. See letter from Benton Utley to James K. Polk, February 6, 1835, quoted in McPherson, "Letters to Polk," 191.

³¹ At least one Chapel Hill merchant suffered because of this decision. In a letter to James K. Polk dated February 6, 1835, Benson Utley complained that William's account had been running since March, 1833, and that William had not remitted the balance of \$125.99 upon reaching Nashville as he had promised. See McPherson, "Letters to Polk," 191.

than \$250—which we considered sufficient for a decent support with proper care at the school at Hillsborough. If when we lay down rules of expenditure, you totally disregard our wishes and injunctions mortifications arrives [?] to us all it must be borne. And your pledge to pay all excess honorably when of age does not relieve us of the duty to withhold the means of your destruction. You may think it strange that we say that furnishing you money agreeably to your wishes would destroy you—but the fact is so, if you were furnished money freely, or your contracted debts paid—the time you ought to employ in hard study would be taken up in extravagance [*sic*] and frolic & the acquisition of destructive habits.

We fondly hope that you will yet live to see the day, when by the salutary influence of the rigid course we have deemed it our duty to pursue, you will have arrived at a station in society, to feel the benefit of it and properly appreciate our motives.

The sequel to the story revealed in these letters must be told briefly. William later graduated from the University of Tennessee and was admitted to the bar at Columbia, Tennessee, in 1839. He became a prominent lawyer in Columbia and represented Maury County in the lower house of the General Assembly for two terms, 1841-1845. On March 13, 1845, President Polk made his first three diplomatic appointments, one of which went to William as *chargé d'affaires* to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.³² He resigned that post in 1847 and served in the Mexican War as a major in the Third Dragoons. Afterward William resumed his law practice in Columbia and won a congressional seat in 1851. He served one term in the House and returned to Tennessee. In 1861 he made an unsuccessful bid against Isham Harris for the governor's chair. William was married three times, his third wife having been Lucy Eugenia Williams of Warren County.³³ Death came in December, 1862, at the age of forty-seven, thirty years after he entered Mr. Bingham's school at Hillsborough. William H. Polk was the last surviving son of Samuel and Jane Knox Polk.³⁴

³² "Credences, 1789-1906," III, 116, 123, Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

³³ Angelotti, "The Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee" (1924), 48-49.

³⁴ Angelotti, "The Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee" (1923), 221-223.

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- GREEN, LEWIS W. The year of the swan. Asheville: Author, 1966. 29p. \$3.50.
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- LINNEY, ROMULUS. Slowly, by thy hand unfurled. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965. 214p. \$4.50.
- MILLER, HEATHER ROSS.⁴ Tenants of the house. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966. 119p. \$3.75.
- PRICE, REYNOLDS. A generous man. New York: Atheneum, 1966. 275p. \$4.95.
- RUARK, ROBERT CHESTER. The honey badger. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965. 569p. \$6.50.
- SLAUGHTER, FRANK GILL. Constantine: The miracle of the flaming cross. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965. 430p. \$5.95.
- TYLER, ANNE. The tin can tree. New York: Knopf, 1965. 273p. \$4.95.
- WELLMAN, MANLY WADE. Battle at Bear Paw Gap. New York: Washburn, 1966. 184p. \$3.75.
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- WERTENBAKER, LAEL TUCKER. The afternoon women. Boston: Little, Brown, 1966. 312p. \$4.95.

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- GASKIN, JAMES R. A language reader for writers by James R. Gaskin and Jack Suberman. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966. 251p. \$2.95.
- HARDISON, OSBORNE BENNETT, JR. Christian rite and Christian drama in the Middle Ages, essays in the origin and early history of modern drama. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965. 328p. \$7.50.
- HARRIS, WILLIAM OLIVER. Skelton's *Magnyfycence* and the cardinal virtue tradition. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. 177p. \$5.00.

⁴Winner of the Sir Walter Raleigh Award for fiction, 1966.

- HARTLEY, LODWICK CHARLES. Laurence Sterne in the twentieth century. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. 189p. \$5.00.
- HUBBELL, JAY BROADUS. South and Southwest, literary essays and reminiscences. Durham: Duke University Press, 1965. 369p. \$10.00.
- MARTIN, LISTER ALLEN. Wayside reflections. Lexington: Green Printing Co., 1966. 96p. \$1.50.
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- HARDEE, DAVID LYDDALL. The Eastern North Carolina Hardy-Hardee family in the South and Southwest. [Raleigh: Author, 1965?] 302p. \$6.00.
- HUMMEL, ELIZABETH HICKS. Hicks history of Granville County, North Carolina. Oxford: [Coble Printing Co.], 1965. 219p. \$15.00.

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- CURTISS, JOHN SHELTON. The Russian army under Nicholas I, 1825-1855. Durham: Duke University Press, 1965. 386p. \$10.00.
- DURDEN, ROBERT FRANKLIN. The climax of populism, the election of 1896. Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1965. 190p. \$5.00.
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- MCPHERSON, HOLT. Round-the-world report, 1965. High Point: Phoenician Press, 1965. 131p. \$1.50.
- MARSH, KENNETH FREDERICK. Colonial Bath, North Carolina's oldest town. [Asheville: Biltmore Press], 1966. 64p.
- MEDFORD, W. CLARK. Land o' the sky: history-stories-sketches. Waynesville: [Author?], 1965. 173p. \$5.25.
- MITCHELL, MEMORY FARMER. Legal aspects of conscription and exemption in North Carolina, 1861-1865. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. 103p. \$2.50.

- PENDER, WILLIAM DORSEY. The general to his lady, the Civil War letters of William Dorsey Pender to Fanny Pender, edited by William W. Hassler. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. 271p. \$6.00.
- POWELL, WILLIAM STEVENS. North Carolina. New York: Franklin Watts, 1966. 92p. \$2.65.
- _____. Paradise preserved. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. 259p. \$4.75.
- ROSS, MALCOLM HARRISON. The Cape Fear. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965. 340p. \$7.00.
- RUTLEDGE, WILLIAM EDWARD, JR. An illustrated history of Yadkin County, 1850-1965. [Yadkinville: William E. Rutledge, Jr., and Max O. Welborn, 1965.] 180p. \$4.50.
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- THOMASSON, LILLIAN FRANKLIN. Swain County, early history and educational development. Bryson City: [Author?], 1965. 144p.
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- WANG, YI CHU. Chinese intellectuals and the West, 1872-1949. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. 557p. \$10.00.

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- BAILEY, HUGH C. Hinton Rowan Helper, abolitionist-racist. University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1965. 256p. \$6.95.
- BAXTER, STEPHEN BARTOW. William III. London: Longmans, 1966. 460p. £3.
- BLYTHE, LEGETTE. Robert Lee Stowe, pioneer in textiles. Belmont, N.C.: [Publisher not reported], 1965. 288p. \$4.95.
- DEWSNAP, TERENCE. Thomas Wolfe's Web and the rock and You can't go home again. New York: Monarch Press, 1965. 68p. \$1.00.
- KROLL, HARRY HARRISON. Riders in the night. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965. 301p. \$6.00.
- LINK, ARTHUR S. Wilson, campaigns for progressivism and peace, 1916-1917. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965. 464p. \$8.50.
- MASTERSON, WILLIAM H., editor. The John Gray Blount Papers. Vol. III. Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1965. 621p. \$5.00.
- NIFONG, DOROTHY R. Brethren with stethoscopes. Winston-Salem: Hunter Publishing Co., 1965. 57p.
- SEVERN, WILLIAM. In Lincoln's footsteps, the life of Andrew Johnson, by Bill Severn. New York: Washburn, 1966. 215p. \$3.59.
- TODD, GLENN HAYWOOD. The immortal Nick Arrington. Chicago: Adams Press, 1965. 190p. \$3.80.

⁵ Winner of the AAUW Award for juvenile literature, 1966.

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- VINING, ELIZABETH GRAY. Flora, a biography. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1966. 208p. \$4.95.
- ZUBER, RICHARD L. Jonathan Worth, a biography of a Southern Unionist. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. 351p. \$7.50.

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- BYRD, WILLIAM. Prose works, narratives of a colonial Virginian, edited by Louis B. Wright. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966. 438p. \$9.75.
- CLYDE, PAUL HIBBERT. The Far East, a history of the Western impact and the Eastern response, 1830-1965, by Paul H. Clyde and Burton F. Beers. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966. 511p. \$8.50.
- CRAVEN, AVERY ODELLE. Edmund Ruffin, Southerner, a study in secession. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1966. 283p. \$1.95.
- DOUGLASS, ELISHA P. Rebels and Democrats, the struggle for equal political rights and majority rule during the American Revolution. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965. 368p. \$2.25.
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- GRIFFIN, JESSE C. Special services arranged for ministers and others who prefer to use them for helpful services. [No place:] Free Will Baptist Press, 1965. 144p. \$1.25.
- HAAS, BEN. Look away, look away. New York: Pocket Books, 1965. 534p. 75¢.
- HAMMER, CARL. Rhinelanders on the Yadkin, the story of the Pennsylvania Germans in Rowan and Cabarrus Counties, North Carolina. [Salisbury: Rowan Printing Co., 1965]. 134p. \$5.00.
- JOHNSON, GUION GRIFFIS. Ante-Bellum North Carolina. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. 952p. \$8.50.
- LACY, DAN MABRY. Freedom and communications. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965. 108p. 95¢.
- LEFLER, HUGH TALMAGE. North Carolina history told by contemporaries. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. 580p. \$7.50.
- LINK, ARTHUR S. American epoch, a history of the United States since the 1890's. New York: Knopf, 1966. 917p. \$9.00.

⁶ Winner of the Mayflower Award, 1966.

- _____. Wilson, the diplomatist, a look at his major foreign policies. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965. 165p. \$1.65.
- LINKER, ROBERT WHITE. Aucassin et Nicolette. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. 60p. \$2.50.
- MARSHALL, EDISON. The lost colony. New York: Popular Library, 1965. 448p. 95¢.
- PACE, ELIZABETH. County salaries in North Carolina. Chapel Hill: Institute of Government, 1966. 72p. \$1.00.
- PHILLIPS, ANN H. Notary public guidebook. Chapel Hill: Institute of Government, 1965. 124p. \$3.00.
- RAY, WORTH STICKLEY. Colonial Granville County and its people. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965. pp. 193-312. \$7.50.
- SELLERS, CHARLES GRIER, editor. The Southerner as American. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1966. 216p. \$1.45.
- SHEPPARD, MURIEL EARLEY. Cabins in the laurel. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. 456p. \$5.95.
- SLAUGHTER, FRANK GILL. Constantine: The miracle of the flaming cross. London: Hutchinson, 1966. 415p. 30/.
- SMITH, BETTY. Maggie-Now. New York: Harper & Row, 1966. 346p. 95¢.
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- TYLER, ANNE. If morning ever comes. New York: Bantam Books, 1965. 184p. 60¢.

BOOK REVIEWS

North Carolina in Maps. By William P. Cumming. (Raleigh: Department of Archives and History, 1966. Brochure. Pp. 36. Fifteen maps: White 1585 MS, White-De Bry 1590, Mercator-Hondius 1606, Comberford 1657 MS, Ogilby-Moxon *ca.* 1672, Moseley 1733, Collet 1770, Mouzon 1775, Price-Strother 1808, MacRae-Brazier 1833, Colton 1861, Bachmann 1861, U.S. Coast Survey 1865, Kerr-Cain 1882, and Post Route 1896. \$5.00.)

This valuable and attractive contribution is certain to appeal to an extremely large and varied audience. It consists of a handsome set of fifteen large facsimile maps varying in size from 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 15 $\frac{7}{8}$ " to 35 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 17 $\frac{7}{8}$ ", printed singly on heavy parchment-like paper, plus a well-illustrated and meticulously documented explanatory essay. The maps, described as "a series of maps significant to the history of North Carolina," were selected by Dr. William P. Cumming, who also prepared the accompanying explanatory essay.

Dr. Cumming is regarded internationally as the foremost expert on the historical cartography of the Southeast, having authored *The Southeast in Early Maps* as well as numerous articles on the subject. He has chosen wisely and well from the vast number of maps which are illustrative of phases of North Carolina's rich historical development. The reader is led through the centuries beginning with the sixteenth, when the lineaments of the New World were still matters of conjecture, to the end of the nineteenth when "every part of [North Carolina] had been not only explored but also surveyed and mapped" by a most well-informed and eloquent guide.

Only a person with Dr. Cumming's broad knowledge of North Carolina's historical cartography could have brought together such a representative and valuable set of maps of the state. His many years of wide-ranging research have not only led him to the most crucial of the early maps, it has also equipped him to select those extant copies which were in the best physical condition for reproduction. As a result, the quality of the facsimiles is as near perfect as possible.

While of more modest dimensions, the paperbound book, *North Carolina in Maps*, which accompanies and explains the maps, is no

less valuable. It is here that the reader perceives the author's abundant expertise. Dr. Cumming provides a brief but essential introductory essay which reviews the highlights of the discovery, exploration, and mapping of that part of the New World which became North Carolina. Following this introduction is a series of short discussions devoted to each of the fifteen maps in the series. These discussions are rich sources of information which help to insure a clear understanding and appreciation of the maps. The book and maps together form a source of inestimable value to all who are interested in North Carolina's history whether schoolchildren, laymen, scholars, or professional historians. In addition, the maps should find wide favor as interesting and attractive wall decorations admirably suited for framing.

Louis De Vorsey, Jr.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Josephus Daniels: The Small-d Democrat. By Joseph L. Morrison. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xvi, 316. \$7.50.)

A generation reaching maturity over the past twenty-odd years may not recall just how large a figure Josephus Daniels cut on the national scene in his heyday. This reviewer as a youngster once proudly named his dog for the great secretary who did so much to democratize the Navy. Here was a man to reckon with. He was indeed a thorough-going small-d democrat, the living embodiment of a small-town progressive. What made him remarkable was the way he carried his egalitarianism and his moral fervor to the federal arena and applied them there with consistency and often with success.

As a representative progressive, Josephus Daniels can be studied with much profit and no little pleasure. Joseph Morrison, professor of journalism at the University of North Carolina, has written an easy-to-read study that successfully captures his man—as impoverished son of a Civil War widow, editor of the *Raleigh News and Observer*, Democratic party committeeman, Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt's longtime friend and ambassador to Mexico.

To be sure, one may fault the volume. Morrison tends to measure all men by Daniels' yardstick. If they disagree—Admirals Fiske and Sims, for example—they appear in largely negative terms. Moreover, the author is inclined to minimize Daniels' more notable instances of

shortsightedness, underplaying if not excusing his disgraceful role in the Wilmington race riots, his failure to grasp the implications of aviation for seapower, and his "our-country-right-or-wrong" isolationism prior to World War II. But against these flaws must be set major assets. If the book never goes far below the surface on any single issue, one must recall that the author offers a convenient one-volume survey in competition with his own earlier and more specialized book as well as Daniels' multivolume memoirs. Despite the compression, a significant portrait emerges. The reader sees a man who continues to grow throughout his long career. Abandoning his earlier bigotry, by 1925 he was courageously resisting the KKK and fighting against an antievolution statute for North Carolina. He is seen as a realistic political leader; though a lifelong dry, he abandoned a lost-cause liquor referendum in return for wet votes in favor of the nine-month school term he had fought so hard to secure. Daniels is portrayed as a fair-minded prolabor editor whose employees accepted him as an arbitrator in a wage dispute with his own newspaper. Above all, one sees an old-fashioned editor who had a conscious political philosophy and acted upon it. As he himself put it, "righteous wrath" is essential to editorial influence; if columnists flourish, it is only because "editors are lazy."

I. B. Holley, Jr.

Duke University

Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763. By M. Eugene Sirmans. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1966. Foreword, preface, bibliographical essay, index. Pp. xvi, 394. \$10.00.)

Marion Eugene Sirmans, Jr., was born in Georgia in 1934. He earned one degree at Emory and two at Princeton, showing special interest in Colonial South Carolina in graduate school. From 1959 to 1962 he was a fellow of the Institute of Early American History and Culture and instructor at the College of William and Mary. Returning to Emory as assistant professor of history in 1962, he died three years later. From his short but productive life as a professional historian came five articles and this book, all dealing with the early history of South Carolina.

Colonial South Carolina is a political history in three parts. The first forty-two years of the proprietary period are traced in a perfunctory manner. Dr. Sirmans was unable to finish this section before he died,

and his editors had to make some revisions in these chapters. In the hectic three decades from 1712 to 1743 Indian uprisings, economic chaos, currency problems, and the overthrow of proprietary government were the chief problems in South Carolina. Sirmans does full justice to these issues. The third era covered by this study encompasses the two decades from the arrival of Governor James Glen in Charles Town in 1743 to the end of the French and Indian War. Here the author deals with the struggle of the Commons House to gain control over the Colonial government. Although concerned with the shortest period, this is by far the most rewarding part of the book. The Bibliographical Essay is a valuable conclusion.

For over sixty years the works of Edward McCrady and William R. Smith have been the standard authorities on the political history of Colonial South Carolina. Now their work is superseded by that of M. Eugene Sirmans. The maturity and quality of the contribution Sirmans has made are especially noteworthy because his career as a scholar was compressed within one decade.

Daniel M. McFarland

Madison College

The Nat Turner Slave Insurrection (Together with Thomas R. Gray's The Confession, Trial, and Execution of Nat Turner as a Supplement). By F. Roy Johnson. (Murfreesboro: Johnson Publishing Company, 1966. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, and index. Pp. viii, 248. \$6.50.)

On the night of August 21, 1831, in Southampton County, Virginia, Nat Turner, a slave who as a lay preacher exercised a strong influence over his race and apparently believed that he was a supernatural instrument chosen to lead his people out of bondage, led a band of slaves to a number of plantations and in a period of twenty-four hours horribly butchered and mangled the bodies of fifty-five white persons before the community could act in defense and retaliation. Following closely upon slave insurrections in Martinique, Antigua, and other Caribbean areas, this revolt caused a profound shock in the slaveholding states and raised southern fears of a general servile war to their highest point. As a result legislation was enacted in nearly every southern state greatly increasing the severity of the slave codes; a death blow was dealt to the organized emancipation movement in the South; and never again would the slaveholding South be free from some fear of a wholesale and successful slave uprising, a fact potent in the history of the republic for the next thirty years.

The most important sources of information on this episode are (1) the Southampton County court records; (2) the "Confessions" of Nat Turner, dictated on the eve of his execution to Thomas R. Gray, one of the lawyers who had participated in the trial of the insurgents; and (3) William Sidney Drewry's *The Southampton Insurrection*, compiled in 1900 from interviews with surviving members of each family that suffered at the hands of the insurgents, persons who guarded the prisoners, relatives of Nat Turner, and other Negroes. On the basis of these and certain other sources Mr. Johnson has placed the revolt in its proper setting and has related in sequence the essential facts regarding the event and its consequences. It is obvious that this is a book written by a man who is well informed on the subject and also at home in the locale in which the action took place.

Unfortunately, these complimentary remarks cannot be extended to the author's grammar, syntax, and citation of sources. The volume abounds in lack of agreement of verbs and subjects, wrong tenses, and misplaced and dangling modifiers. The footnote citations are neither in standard form nor, in some instances, accurately stated. The Index is fairly satisfactory.

James W. Patton

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Henry Newman's Salzburger Letterbooks. Transcribed and edited by George Fenwick Jones. (Athens: University of Georgia Press [Wormsloe Foundation Publications Number Eight], 1966. Map, endpapers, illustration, index. Pp. xi, 626. \$12.00.)

Among the first settlers of the Georgia colony, brought over on the "Anne" in 1733, was a carpenter named Noble Jones who quickly acquired position and rank in the colony—and an estate known as Wormsloe. Soon after the founding of the colony, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, which had been founded by the Reverend Thomas Bray, originally to aid Anglican ministers in obtaining books for their meager libraries, concerned itself with the project of helping German Lutherans to flee from religious persecution in Salzburg and to settle in the new colony of Georgia.

The Secretary of the SPCK was Henry Newman, and his letters to and from such individuals as the Reverend Samuel Urlsperger at Augsburg, Baron George Philip Frederick Von Reck, and Jean Vat,

leaders who brought over the early emigrants, John Martin Bolzius and Israel Christian Gronau, ministers at Ebenezer, Georgia, and others provide a detailed record of the Salzburger in flight, their problems after leaving Germany, and the difficulties encountered in establishing homes in a new world.

These letters are preserved in the archives of the society in London, but since most of them were written in the German language and some in French they were useful only to scholars able to translate them in London or read photoduplications. Professor George Fenwick Jones, head of German Studies at the University of Maryland has now transcribed and edited them. They consist of two letter books of outgoing correspondence and three of incoming correspondence.

Students of the subject are fortunate to have the fruit of the labor of a descendant of Noble Jones; and fortunate it is, too, for Georgia historiography that the Wormsloe Foundation has made it possible for the University of Georgia Press to publish this voluminous work. Professor Jones, in addition to his inherited interest in the story of the merging of English and German cultures in Georgia so long ago, has all the qualifications necessary for his tedious but worthwhile task. Having already written three major books in his field, he has published more than forty articles in Medieval French and German literature. He is currently editing the Urlsperger Tracts which is planned for release soon as Volume IX in the Wormsloe Foundation Publication series.

Spencer King

Mercer University

Georgia Voices: A Documentary History to 1872. By Spencer Bidwell King, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1966. Notes, index. Pp. vi, 370. \$6.95.)

Professor Spencer Bidwell King, Jr., of Mercer University, has concentrated his considerable talents on fashioning a documentary history of the state of Georgia to the year 1872. The guiding concept behind the volume has been to let the Georgia voices speak for themselves. King contends that such voices "could always be easily identified" as distinct from those of other states or of the nation. It is up to the individual reader to decide if he makes good this claim. The present reviewer must demur. Particularly concerning the coming of the Civil War and the Reconstruction experience, *Georgia Voices* is

largely a catalog of events of the national level upon which Georgians simply comment or pass judgment. Though the observations are pertinent and occasionally acutely perceptive, there is nothing uniquely Georgian about them. Also, though indeed many Georgia voices are included, the most cogent remarks are generally made by outsiders, such as Sir Charles Lyell, who visited or passed through Georgia and kept records of their impressions.

Unfortunately, too, the proofreading has been inadequate and the indexing is not complete. Even selections included in the text—William Bartram's passage on page 43 and the excerpt from J. E. D. Shipp's biography of William H. Crawford—find no place in the Index. And the entire work badly needs a map to which perplexed readers not intimate with Georgia's plethora of counties might refer.

Still Dr. King's volume has positive aspects that tend to offset the book's shortcomings. *Georgia Voices* is well organized and utilizes where practicable a topical rather than a strictly chronological approach. His chapter on the Negro before 1860 leaves the reader with a vivid and intense impression. Particularly, though, in his handling of the Civil War experiences of Georgia and Georgians is the grandeur and the grimness of the struggle unfolded. For here in this brilliantly compressed section of twenty-five pages the tragedy on the land and on the people of the state is dramatically and effectively portrayed. This chapter is unquestionably the highlight of the book, and the volume should have been permitted to end on this note. The concluding chapter, touching Reconstruction and its overthrow, is distinctly anticlimactic.

Though one might occasionally quibble with Professor King's emphasis and deplore certain technical deficiencies that tend to detract from the whole picture, *Georgia Voices* is a sound piece of scholarship and demonstrates King's deep understanding of and sympathy for his adopted home state. He is to be commended.

Phinizy Spalding

University of Georgia

The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763-1775. By Louis De Vorsey, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. Maps, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 267. \$7.50.)

Over much of its great extent the southern Indian Boundary Line, which separated the limits of Colonial settlement from the Indian hunting grounds, developed from a hazy administrative policy of

the Board of Trade at the beginning of the 1760's to a geographical reality less than fifteen years later. The location of the southern Indian Boundary was of crucial importance and significance to the Indians, to the pioneer settlers, and to the British administrators concerned with the military and political problems of the expanding frontier. The French and Indian War had taught the British the importance of amicable relations with the Indians and of the accompanying need of moderating the pace or altering the direction of Colonial settlements.

The Proclamation Line of 1763 promulgated by the Board of Trade was a temporary expedient; the location of the line in much of its length was uncertain, and no adequate map of the back country existed. The agreements reached at the Congress of Augusta, Georgia, between the attending Colonial governors and the Indian tribal representatives later in the same year attempted to clarify and settle some of the chief issues. The truculent and expansionist attitude of the white pioneers, unauthorized cessions of lands by Indians to traders, and violent reactions of other Indians to these territorial intrusions resulted in a series of further congresses and westward modifications of the line. These changes were numerous, complicated, and serious in their implications and extent. They still have relevance now, two hundred years later, as in the still pending multimillion dollar suit of the Seminole Indians against the United States, a case specifically involving the validity of some of these pre-Revolutionary treaties and the boundary lines.

Dr. De Vorsey's work is a thorough study of the intricate evolution of the southern Indian Boundary from its inception as a vaguely stated and ill-defined method of alleviating military, political, and economic problems to a "geographical reality boldly demarcated across the landscape of America's new West" at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. The study is based primarily on exhaustive examination of the reports to the Board of Trade and maps in the Public Record Office; Dr. De Vorsey has also investigated carefully the maps and documents in the British Museum and in this country.

One of the most valuable results of the dispute concerning the Boundary Line was the enormous increase in detailed knowledge and accuracy of the maps of the Southeast which were prepared for the Board of Trade by John Stuart, Joseph Purcell, and the surveyors assisting them. Dr. De Vorsey has uncovered hitherto unnoted maps and identified the provenance of others. He has analyzed and interpreted the information on these maps, correlating their eighteenth-

century delineations of the various boundary lines on a series of twenty-nine maps with a modern basis.

This work is an excellent example of the fruitful field, still largely unexplored, of North American historical geography. Dr. De Vorsey has clarified the locations of the southern Indian Boundary Line in its development; in so doing, he has unraveled the tangled web of a significant phase of southern Colonial history. It is to be hoped that he will in time produce a companion volume on the Boundary Line from the Ohio northward to Canada.

William P. Cumming

Davidson College

A History of the Old South. By Clement Eaton. (New York: Macmillan Company [Second Edition], 1966. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 562. \$8.95.)

In 1950 Professor Dumas Malone wrote of the first edition of this history that it could be "commended with confidence both to students and general readers." This judgment of sixteen years ago can be repeated in praise of this extensively revised edition of Clement Eaton's original book. This reviewer was greatly impressed with the improved literary quality of the revised edition. Almost every page shows the careful rereading and rethinking which must have gone into its preparation. New paragraphs frequently have been inserted and old ones have been rearranged. Here an adjective has been added, there one has been struck out; here a comma has been added, there a singular noun becomes a plural. In all these extensive and minute alterations can be seen the subtle changes in the author's views of southern history which have taken place through the years. Not only do the revisions reflect the author's more mature scholarly judgments, they also reflect changing emphases in historical interpretation and the influence of contemporary racial developments. In regard to the latter, experience with twentieth century race prejudice has brought Professor Eaton to more pessimistic views about the attitudes of antebellum southerners toward slavery.

Though there are twenty-seven chapters in this new edition as contrasted to twenty-three in the earlier one, most of the new material has been added at the beginning of the book. Eaton has expanded his treatment of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods and a more balanced, pluralistic interpretation of the factors leading to the Revolution is presented. These new chapters give more emphasis to the role of the

lower classes in southern society. Later chapters also give more attention to the role of women in southern history.

All in all, this new version of Eaton's *History of the Old South* preserves most of the author's penetrating insights, adds new materials and new interpretations, and vastly enhances the literary charm of the treatment. Fussy historians, like this reviewer, will be happy to see that footnotes in this edition are at the bottom of the page instead of at the ends of the chapters.

Herbert J. Doherty, Jr.

University of Florida

James K. Polk, Continentalist, 1843-1846. By Charles Sellers. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. x, 513. \$12.50.)

This second volume of the James K. Polk biography is a study in depth of the years 1843-1846, representing the lowest and the highest points in Polk's political fortunes. Twice defeated for reelection to the governorship of Tennessee, he doubted that he could achieve his ambition to become Democratic nominee for the vice-presidency in 1844. That he should receive the presidential nomination was a remarkable example of the importance of availability in American politics. At no time before or after that moment would he have had a ghost of a chance for the party's highest honor. When Martin Van Buren finally came out against the annexation of Texas which Henry Clay, the Whig nominee, also opposed, the way was open for the Democrats to nominate a strong annexationist, and the dark horse was at hand ready for the race.

John C. Calhoun was pushing annexation primarily as a proslavery measure, but as the title adjective "continentalist" suggests, Polk had a broader vision, for he asserted a strong claim to Oregon and revealed to George Bancroft his purpose to acquire California and other West Coast territory. Professor Sellers points out that this was more than traditional agrarian expansionism; that it involved also a new commercial expansionism that dreamed of dominating Asiatic trade from bases on the Pacific coast—all buttressed by a compelling sense of Manifest Destiny that included the right to any land which might be needed to realize its dreams.

If anyone has doubts that this little-known president deserves a three-volume biographical treatment, the reading of this second volume will remove them, for many of the personalities and issues of the

day are introduced in a fashion to provide a backdrop to the impending crisis over slavery. Nor does the subject of the biography always come out very well. Polk was frequently so intent upon his own end that his friends and political associates felt themselves misled and at times misused—a possibility that apparently did not occur to him. Manifest Destiny again justified the means.

Charlton W. Tebeau

University of Miami

Competition and Cooperation: The Emergence of a National Trade Association. By Louis Galambos. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966. Notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 329. \$7.50.)

The author presents a scholarly history of the development of textile trade associations with especial emphasis on the Cotton Textile Institute (C.T.I.). In the book one sees businessmen meeting for discussions at supper clubs in the late nineteenth century. In time, as with any amateurs who find themselves serving useful purposes, full-time employees to handle clerical and then administrative work became necessary. By the beginning of the twentieth century several service associations had evolved to fulfill the needs of the textile companies for joint action.

This industry faced rather unusual conditions. It had the usual problems with suppliers of raw materials, railroads, and customers. But within itself it contained a multitude of small companies, each competing with every other in an era when "rugged individualism" was an accepted reality rather than a catch phrase. Furthermore, the textile mills were located in two widely different areas of the country, and intersectional rivalry abounded.

The book shows how the trade associations attempted to develop uniform financial and business practices in order to achieve economic stability and, in turn, produce regular profits. It was under these conditions that the Cotton Textile Institute was created and under strong leadership was forged into a policy making body. Nevertheless, in an atomistic industry small minorities were able to prevent concerted action even when trouble developed. With the birth of the National Recovery Act (NRA) the executives of the C.T.I. were provided with an opportunity to bring the power of law to bear on recalcitrant companies, and although stability was obtained, profitability was still elusive. When the NRA was declared to be unconstitutional, the vain

attempt to operate the textile industry on a modernized guild system came to an end, and the trade association returned to where it had been ten years before. Perhaps this was a good place for the author to leave his audience, since the industry also returned to its old cyclical economic behavior pattern.

Future scholars who delve into the area which the author has searched so well will be rewarded by his diligence in finding pertinent information in original source material. For them he has organized and interrelated his data in a manner which tends to allow facts to speak for themselves. But this reviewer is of the opinion that the liveliness, the use of the striking sentence and the apt phrase, the painting rather than the drawing of history, which appears in certain sections toward the end of the book, could have been used advantageously throughout.

The Index is adequate and the Bibliography is voluminous, although one may wonder why no mention is made in it of *Competition in the Rayon Industry*, by Jesse W. Markham, which was published by the Harvard University Press in 1952. In Tables 10 and 14 where figures on spindle hours have been rounded off, billions were inadvertently reduced to millions.

Robert W. Work

North Carolina State University

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

An Outwork at Fort Raleigh: Further Archeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina, is Jean Carl Harrington's fascinating report of his most recent (1965) study of an archaeological feature accidentally discovered on Roanoke Island by a utility workman in 1959. The study was begun as a part of the archaeological program of the National Park Service and was completed through a grant from the Eastern National Park and Monument Association, the publisher of this report. Although the new site could not be identified with certainty, the archaeologist concluded that it had a military function and for purposes of this report designated it as an outwork. In his preface Mr. Harrington says that the study revealed "possibly the most important new information that has come to light on the Raleigh colonizing venture in recent years." As a matter of fact, the investigation, which was carried out with the close cooperation of Dr. Sam H. Patterson of the United

States Geological Survey, raises many interesting new questions about what might have happened on Roanoke Island when the first settlers arrived almost four centuries ago. This 66-page volume is paperbound and includes photographs, sketches, maps, and a brief bibliography. There are two appendixes: a report by Dr. Patterson on the laboratory investigation of the brick, tile, and "mortar" samples, and a report by Ivor Noël Hume of Colonial Williamsburg on an unusual ceramic vessel, all artifacts uncovered at the excavations. Copies of the book may be purchased from Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 420 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19106, at \$1.75, plus 25 cents for postage and handling. For an article on a special aspect of this study, see J. C. Harrington, "The Manufacture and Use of Bricks at the Raleigh Settlement on Roanoke Island," in the Winter, 1967, *North Carolina Historical Review*.

The Genealogical Publishing Company has made available two hard-cover reprints which will be of interest to genealogists, students, and historians. The first is *Marriage and Death Notices from [the] Raleigh Register and North Carolina State Gazette, 1799-1825*, compiled by Carrie L. Broughton, a former state librarian, and first published as a part of the *Report of the State Library of North Carolina for the Biennium 1942-1944*. Of the 5,000 entries in the 178-page volume, approximately two-thirds are marriage notices and one-third death notices. The notices relate to the entire state and not to one area. Although the print is small, it is clear and legible. Unfortunately the same cannot be said for the second title, *Mecklenburg Signers and Their Neighbors*, by Worth S. Ray. In the Preface to the original edition published in 1946, of which the present edition is a facsimile reprint, the editor advised that the type had been kept small to avoid manufacture of an unwieldy volume. Since the work is more likely to be used for reference than for cover-to-cover reading, the advantages of its availability outweigh the disadvantages of poor legibility. Approximately one half of the book is composed of miscellaneous data taken from tombstones, wills, deeds, marriage and death notices, and the like; the remainder is made up of biographical and genealogical sketches. *Mecklenburg Signers and Their Neighbors* is Part III of a longer work by Mr. Ray entitled *The Lost Tribes of North Carolina*, which accounts for the pagination from 313 to 558. This volume includes name, subject, and place indexes, several maps, and a list of sources and authorities. Both the Broughton and Ray compilations may be purchased at \$7.50 each from the publisher at 521-23 St. Paul Place, Baltimore, Maryland, 21202.

The Brunswick County Historical Society has published *Bicentennial: Brunswick County, North Carolina*, a souvenir booklet commemorating the bicentennial celebration held at Brunswick Town State Historic Site on November 15, 1964. Included in the 19-page paperbound booklet are brief histories of the county and the society, a list of officers and members of the society, the addresses made at the event by Stanley South and Judge Rudolph I. Mintz, several maps, including "A New Map of Historic Brunswick County," drawn by R. V. Asbury, Jr., in 1961, and an excerpt from the first federal census of 1790. For information as to how copies of the booklet may be obtained, write to Miss Helen F. Taylor, Secretary, Brunswick County Historical Society, Box 22, Winnabow, N. C.

Mrs. Dora Adele Padgett, of 1601 Argonne Place, N. W., Washington, D.C., 20009, has recently published a genealogical study entitled *The Styron (Styring) Family in America*, copies of which are available from the author for \$7.50. Edited with skill and apparent thoroughness, illustrated with a variety of halftone engravings of pertinent maps, documents, and photographs of churches, and printed by letterpress on good quality paper, this volume should serve as an excellent example for others who undertake to publish family history. The book is attractively bound in a heavy paper cover, and a large genealogical chart of the family is included with each copy.

Dr. C. Hugh Holman, Kenan Professor of English at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is the general editor of the *Odyssey Surveys of American Writing*, which will be composed of four anthologies encompassing selected writings from the Colonial period to the 1960's. The first volume, *Colonial and Federalist American Writing*, edited by Drs. George D. Horner and Robert A. Bain of the English faculty at Chapel Hill, is now available. The editors have included representative samples from every type of writing produced during the two centuries from 1607 to 1830, beginning with the writings of John Smith and concluding with those of James Fenimore Cooper. This anthology should prove invaluable to teachers and students of English and history for text and collateral reading, particularly because library facilities are frequently inadequate for this historical era. For the study of southern literature and history, attention is called to the inclusion of selections from the works of John Smith, John Lawson, Robert Beverley, Thomas Godfrey, William

Byrd II, William Bartram, Thomas Jefferson, John Woolman, William Dawson, and John Hammond, as well as excerpts from the *Burwell Papers*, the *South Carolina Gazette*, and the *Virginia Gazette*. One might quibble about the broken type, feathering print, and evidences of printing carelessness; however, gratitude to the publisher and editors for making such a fine collection available at the modest prices of \$4.50 and \$3.50 for the hard-cover and paperbound editions, respectively, mitigates criticism of the technical deficiencies. The 945-page volume includes an introduction for each of the three major divisions, a brief biographical sketch and bibliography which precedes each selection, and an index to authors, titles, and first lines of poems. Copies may be purchased from the Odyssey Press, Inc., 55 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The Naval History Division of the Department of the Navy has completed publication of its highly commendable six-volume series entitled *Civil War Chronology, 1861-1865*. Parts I through V of the series present in summary form a day-by-day account of the important naval happenings for the year 1861 through 1865, respectively. Part VI, which has recently been issued, is subtitled *Special Studies and Cumulative Index*. The special studies are composed of chapters on such miscellany as "Naval Sheet Music of the Civil War," "Shipboard Life During the Civil War," "Civil War Blockade Runners," "Confederate Forces Afloat," "The Navy in the Defense of Washington," and others. In addition to the 66-page cumulative index, there is a "Table of Illustrations," which lists sources for illustrative material used in the series. Each of the six parts is illustrated profusely with copies of photographs, letters, orders, maps, engravings, etc. The director of naval history, Rear Admiral E. M. Eller, U.S. Navy (Ret.), has written introductions, prefaces, or summaries for each volume. An 8" x 10½" format is used, and each part is paperbound. The entire set may be purchased for a total of \$5.85, or the volumes may be purchased individually as follows: Part I—1861, 41 pages, 25 cents; Part II—1862, 117 pages, 60 cents; Part III—1863, 169 pages, \$1.00; Part IV—1864, 151 pages, 75 cents; Part V—1865, 149 pages, 75 cents; and Part VI—Special Studies and Cumulative Index, 477 pages, \$2.50. Prepaid orders should be sent to the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402.

National Archives Publication No. 67-1, *Federal Population Censuses, 1790-1890: A Price List of Microfilm Copies of the Schedules*, is a 154-page paperbound volume which, as the title indicates, provides a listing of postive microfilm copies currently available for the original federal population census schedules for the eleven-year period, 1790-1890. The listing is arranged chronologically, then alphabetically by state and county or counties. The increase in population enumerated and the sophistication of the questionnaires is reflected in the escalating cost of the prints: microfilm for the entire states of North Carolina, New York, and Pennsylvania, for the Census of 1790 is available on one roll for \$8.00, while a print for North Carolina alone for the Census of 1880 is \$294. Beginning with the Census of 1800 prints are available in county segments, at prices ranging from \$2.00 to \$11.00. Most of the 1890 census records were destroyed by fire in 1921, and for this state only portions of Gaston and Cleveland counties are available. Somewhat compensating for that loss is the microfilm of "Special Schedules of the Eleventh Census (1890) Enumerating Union Veterans and Widows of Union Veterans of the Civil War." A microfilm copy of this schedule for North Carolina is \$4.00. Microfilm must be ordered by number on special forms provided with the *Price List*. Copies of the book may be acquired free of charge from the General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., 20408.

The *North Carolina Historical Review* is printed on Permalife, a text paper developed through the combined efforts of William J. Barrow of the Virginia State Library, the Council on Library Resources, Inc., and the Standard Paper Manufacturing Company. Tests indicate that the paper theoretically has a useful life of at least 300 years.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of the *North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent states. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this state, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject matter for the *Review*, but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, and style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of the subject, and inaccurate citations.

Persons desiring to submit articles for the *North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook*, which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for the *Review*. Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of the *North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of the *North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.



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Summer 1967

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—A Sloane copy after a John White watercolor of a bird not positively identifiable, but perhaps meant to be a female red-eyed towhee. The maize is probably an example of the "Eastern 8- to 10-rowed flint and flour corn," cultivated by the Indians in Colonial America. For an article on "Indian Agriculture in the Southern Colonies," see pages 283 to 297. The cover illustration is taken from *The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590*, edited by Paul Hulton and David Beers Quinn (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964).

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SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIANS IN THE CONFEDERACY

BY W. HARRISON DANIEL*

There were approximately 104,000 Presbyterians in the South the year Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States,¹ and prior to the election denominational spokesmen had been vitally concerned about the mounting political passions and their possible results. Early in September the *Central Presbyterian*, a weekly newspaper published in Richmond, Virginia, had cautioned southerners to be wary of secession sentiment and warned that the inevitable result of secession and disunion would be a "horrible civil war."² A month later the Fayetteville Presbytery adopted a resolution which recommended a day of fasting and prayer to God "to continue us [a] happy, united, and prosperous people"; this same statement was adopted by the North Carolina Synod when it met near the end of October.³ The Synod of Virginia, which met shortly before the election, designated the first Sunday in November as a day of fasting and prayer and suggested that Presbyterian clergymen preach on the duty of Christians as peacemakers.⁴ On this occasion Robert Lewis Dabney, moderator of the Synod of Virginia, preached a sermon in which he denounced

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¹ Actually there were five different bodies of Presbyterians in the South: The regular or old school Presbyterians, who were affiliated with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and numbered approximately 104,000 members; the United Synod of new school Presbyterians, which claimed a membership of approximately 12,000; the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of the South, with a membership approaching 10,000; the Independent Presbyterian Church, made up of 1,000 members; and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which claimed a membership of approximately 47,000. See Joseph M. Wilson, *The Presbyterian Historical Almanac and Annual Remembrancer of the Church for 1860* (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1860), 192; Joseph M. Wilson, *The Presbyterian Historical Almanac and Annual Remembrancer of the Church for 1861* (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1862), 120-121, 170-172, 193, 327. Attention in this article is focused upon the old school Presbyterians.

² *Central Presbyterian* (Richmond, Virginia), September 8, 1860, hereinafter cited as *Central Presbyterian*.

³ *North Carolina Presbyterian* (Fayetteville), October 13, November 3, 1860, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Presbyterian*.

⁴ Thomas C. Johnson, *The Life and Letters of Robert Lewis Dabney* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1903), 212, hereinafter cited as Johnson, *Dabney*.

the passionate men who were "stirring" the country and he advised his listeners that they should pray for peace, vote for virtuous men, and be calm in language and manner.⁵

After the election of Lincoln—which one Presbyterian newspaper described as an outrage to southern sentiment and feeling⁶—but prior to the secession of South Carolina, some Presbyterian ministers and denominational agencies publicly advocated disunion. The *Southern Presbyterian*, a weekly newspaper published in Columbia, South Carolina, was the first religious newspaper in the South to espouse secession.⁷ It was claimed that secession was the only means of preserving southern rights and liberties.⁸ On November 21 James Henly Thornwell, the most influential person in southern Presbyterianism and professor of theology at the denomination's seminary at Columbia, delivered a fast day sermon in that city. He declared that Union, a name "once dear to our hearts, has become intolerable and is now synonymous with oppression, treachery, falsehood, and violence." He denounced Congress as being corrupt and described it as a "den of robbers and bullies." He was convinced that it was no longer possible to live with self-respect in a Union governed by the Republican party. He believed that the government of the nation needed a "reconstruction" and that nothing would bring this about except secession. He was in favor of South Carolina's showing the way in this movement by seceding at once.⁹ W. C. Dana, pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church in Charleston, also delivered a fast day sermon on November 21. He claimed that the election of Lincoln had brought to power "a foreign and hostile government," because the Republican party was foreign to southern soil and was hostile to the southern way of life. He asserted that people in the South owed no fealty to a government dominated by this party and declared that only southerners should govern the South. He was in favor of immediate secession.¹⁰ The Synod of South Carolina met during the last week in November and avowed that a hostile extremism—represented by the election of Lincoln—dominated the North and the federal government and was determined to destroy southern social institutions. This ecclesiastical gathering called

⁵ James H. Thornwell and Others, *Fast Day Sermons: On The State of the Country* (New York: Rudd and Carleton, 1861), 83-96, hereinafter cited as Thornwell, *Fast Day Sermons*.

⁶ *North Carolina Presbyterian*, November 24, 1860.

⁷ This claim was made in the *Southern Presbyterian* (Columbia, South Carolina), November 10, 1864, hereinafter cited as *Southern Presbyterian*.

⁸ *Southern Presbyterian*, November 17, 1860.

⁹ Thornwell, *Fast Day Sermons*, 28, 55; Johnson, *Dabney*, 224.

¹⁰ W. C. Dana, *A Sermon Delivered in the Central Presbyterian Church, Charleston, South Carolina, November 21, 1860, Being the Day Appointed by State Authority for Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer* (Charleston: Evans and Cogswell, 1860), 6-8.

upon the people of South Carolina to imitate their Revolutionary forefathers, to stand up for their rights, and to declare their independence from the North.¹¹ On November 29 Benjamin Morgan Palmer, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, preached a Thanksgiving Day sermon. He echoed the sentiments of his former mentor, Thornwell, and explained that the Union which their forefathers had formed no longer existed, since mutual respect and confidence had been destroyed. He asserted that the Union had become a yoke upon the South and should be thrown off as their ancestors had thrown off the yoke of George III. He urged that secession begin immediately.¹² On December 9 the Reverend R. K. Porter of Waynesboro, Georgia, expressed the belief that peace was possible only if the Union was dissolved and he suggested a "speedy dissolution."¹³ The discussion of political questions in the pulpit and by ecclesiastical gatherings was a departure for southern clergymen. The practice, however, was defended on the grounds that the rights, liberties, and religion of the South were imperiled.¹⁴

Although the Presbyterian press in North Carolina, Virginia, and Louisiana never questioned the right of a state to secede, the editors were more moderate in their views than were Palmer and Porter and their South Carolina colleagues. The *North Carolina Presbyterian* claimed that three fourths of the people in that state wished to preserve the Union but it also noted that these same people believed that a state possessed the right to leave the Union if it so desired.¹⁵ The *Central Presbyterian* echoed this sentiment and declared that any attempt by the federal government to coerce a state to remain in the Union would result in war.¹⁶ In New Orleans the *True Witness and Sentinel* sought to present a position of neutrality and did not espouse southern nationalism until after the secession of Louisiana.¹⁷

Robert L. Dabney was critical of the secession sentiments of his Presbyterian colleagues in the deep South and of the precipitate politi-

¹¹ Minutes of the Synod of South Carolina, held at Charleston, November 28-December 1, 1860, Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Montreat.

¹² Thornwell, *Fast Day Sermons*, 73-77.

¹³ R. K. Porter, *Christian Duty in the Present Crisis: The Substance of A Sermon Delivered in the Presbyterian Church, in Waynesboro, Georgia, December 9, 1860* (Savannah: Steam Press of John M. Cooper and Company, 1860), 20.

¹⁴ *Southern Presbyterian*, December 15, 1860; *Christian Observer* (Richmond, Virginia, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), January 10, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Christian Observer*.

¹⁵ *North Carolina Presbyterian*, November 24, 1860.

¹⁶ *Central Presbyterian*, December 1, 1860.

¹⁷ Haskell Monroe, "Southern Presbyterians and the Secession Crisis," *Civil War History*, VI (December, 1960), 355, hereinafter cited as Monroe, "Southern Presbyterians."

cal action of South Carolina. Early in December he wrote, "I am sure that trouble is unnecessary. If the Southern states would be quiet . . . but firm, claiming their rights in the Union, all would blow over." His reaction to the secession of South Carolina was expressed in a letter to his mother, dated December 28, 1860. "The impudent little vixen [South Carolina]," he wrote, "has gone beyond all patience. She is as great a pest as the abolitionists. And if I had my way, they might whip her to their heart's content, so they would only do it by sea and not pester us."¹⁸ His views on secession were expressed more fully in a pamphlet, *A Pacific Appeal to Christians*, which was published in January, 1861, and also printed in the *Central Presbyterian*. He did not consider the election of Lincoln a cause for secession and he regarded the conduct of South Carolina as unjustifiable and as weakening the position of the South. He believed that if secession occurred, it should be the united action of the entire South and not state by state. He urged calmness and Christian patience and implored the people to be temperate in their language.¹⁹ In March, however, after various compromise schemes to guarantee southern rights had failed, Dabney called upon Virginians to leave the Union as soon as possible.²⁰ Nearly a month before Fort Sumter a Baptist editor remarked "there is a remarkable unanimity among the Presbyterian ministers of the South in favor of a separation from the North."²¹

The Fort Sumter incident and Lincoln's proclamation for troops were denounced by southern Presbyterians as an invasion of their homeland and a violation of the principle of self-government and of the Constitution.²² After the secession of Virginia, Dabney wrote another pamphlet; he defended secession and castigated the fanatics in the North, claiming that they controlled the federal government and wished to enslave the people of the South.²³ During the summer and fall of 1861 all (forty-seven) of the southern presbyteries expressed their sympathy for the Confederate cause and in December, 1861, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States declared its allegiance to the Confederate government. The

¹⁸ Robert L. Dabney to his sister, December 7, 1860; Robert L. Dabney to his mother, December 28, 1860, Robert L. Dabney Papers, Union Theological Seminary Library, Richmond, Virginia.

¹⁹ Peyton H. Hoge, *Moses Drury Hoge: Life and Letters* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publications, 1899), 140-142, hereinafter cited as Hoge, *Moses Drury Hoge*; Johnson, *Dabney*, 215-217.

²⁰ Monroe, "Southern Presbyterians," 358.

²¹ *Tennessee Baptist* (Nashville, Tennessee), March 23, 1861.

²² F. D. Jones and W. H. Mills (eds.), *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina Since 1850* (Columbia: R. L. Bryan Company, 1926), 77, hereinafter cited as Jones and Mills, *Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*; Hoge, *Moses Drury Hoge*, 145.

²³ Johnson, *Dabney*, 223.

statement of the general assembly, entitled "An Address to All of the Churches of Jesus Christ Throughout the Earth," was prepared by a committee under the chairmanship of James H. Thornwell. It traced the growing tensions between North and South for the past thirty years and presented an extended argument justifying slavery and the position of the South. It explained that southerners needed no apology in withdrawing their country from the government of the United States.²⁴

Blame for the disruption of the Union was placed on the North. Northern states were accused of violating the Constitution by the enactment of liberty laws, and the people in the North were depicted as wishing to deny southerners equal opportunity in the territories.²⁵ It was maintained that secession was the only course available for a peace-loving people to insure their rights of property, person, home, and church from the "fanatics" who were in control of the government at Washington.²⁶ Northern abolitionists were accused of interjecting a "moral element" into the sectional struggle which excited public sentiment and made it more aggressive and rendered compromise impossible.²⁷

The North was accused of initiating a cruel and relentless war upon the South.²⁸ Presbyterian spokesmen assured the people of the South that in the "eyes of God and man" their cause was just, since they were attempting to maintain their institutions against a despotic power, and they were urged to pray for the welfare of the Confed-

²⁴ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, With an Appendix, 1861* (Augusta, Georgia: Steam Power Press Chronicle and Sentinel, 1861), 9, 52-60, hereinafter cited as *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1861*; Haskell M. Monroe, Jr., "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rice University, 1961), 129, hereinafter cited as Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States."

²⁵ Thornwell, *Fast Day Sermons*, 36; *North Carolina Presbyterian*, November 24, 1860; *Central Presbyterian*, December 1, 1860.

²⁶ *Minutes of the Synod of South Carolina*, Charleston, November 6, 1861, Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches; *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1861*, 56; unsigned article, "The Presbyterian Church in Georgia on Secession and Slavery," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, I (September, 1917), 263; Joseph C. Stiles, *The National Controversy; or The Voice of the Fathers Upon the State of the Country* (New York: Rudd and Carleton, 1861), 1, 7, 15, 47.

²⁷ *Central Presbyterian*, December 29, 1860.

²⁸ *Southern Presbyterian*, August 24, 1861; T. S. Winn, *The Great Victory at Manassas Junction. God The Arbiter of Battles, A Thanksgiving Sermon, Preached in the Presbyterian Church at Concord, in Greene County, Alabama, July 28, 1861* (Tuskaloosa, Alabama: J. F. Warren, 1861), 6, hereinafter cited as Winn, *The Great Victory*; Benjamin M. Palmer, *The Rainbow Round the Throne; or Judgement Tempered With Mercy, A Discourse Before the Legislature of Georgia, Delivered on the Day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer, Appointed by the President of the Confederate States of America, March 27, 1863* (Milledgeville, Georgia: Boughton, Nisbet and Barnes, 1863), 34, 37, hereinafter cited as Palmer, *Rainbow Round the Throne*.

erate government and armies.²⁹ Some churchmen interpreted the war as being the chastisement of God. It was His method of disciplining the people so that they would be more appreciative of independence.³⁰ Benjamin Palmer, in a sermon before the Georgia legislature, said that God was using the war as a disciplinary action on the southern people, preparing them for a great future.³¹ There were others who saw the war as God's punishment for sins. Amasa Converse, a prominent Presbyterian minister and editor, said that the South had been guilty of idleness and intemperance, had been a proud and ungrateful people, and that these sins were partially responsible for the war.³² The Reverend T. V. Moore of Richmond declared that the war was God's way of "breaking up mammon worship" and of teaching men the Christian virtues of humility and patience.³³

Throughout the war the hand of God was read into every military victory and defeat. Thomas Smyth declared that the Confederate triumph at the first battle of Manassas was due to a "wonder-working Providence," and T. S. Winn said that God's assistance to the Confederacy was similar to His aiding the Israelites against the Philistines.³⁴ It was claimed that McClellan's failure to take Richmond in the spring of 1862 was because of the intervention of deity.³⁵ Success in battle was considered a gift of God, the evidence of His pleasure toward the South; and ecclesiastical gatherings thanked Him for their blessings and beseeched His salvation for the final victory.³⁶

Military defeats were often portrayed as necessary preparation for peace and prosperity. Without reverses, the people were told, they

²⁹ *North Carolina Presbyterian*, April 27, 1861; *Central Presbyterian*, March 26, 1863; James A. Millard, Jr., *A Digest of the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1861-1944* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publications, 1945), 159, hereinafter cited as Millard, *Digest*; *Minutes of the Presbytery of Fayetteville, at Their Ninety-seventh Session, Held at Mt. Horeb Church, Bladen County, North Carolina, October 10-11, 1861* (Fayetteville: Printed at the Presbyterian Office, 1861), 13.

³⁰ *Central Presbyterian*, December 7, 1861.

³¹ *Christian Index* (Macon, Georgia), April 6, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Christian Index*.

³² *Christian Observer*, April 17, 1862.

³³ T. V. Moore, *God Our Refuge and Strength in This War: A Discourse Before the Congregations of the First and Second Presbyterian Churches, on the Day of Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer Appointed by President Davis, Friday, November 15, 1861* (Richmond: n.p., 1861), 7.

³⁴ Thomas Smyth, "The Victory of Manassas Plains," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, XIV (January, 1862), 599; Winn, *The Great Victory*, 6.

³⁵ *North Carolina Presbyterian*, July 12, 1862.

³⁶ This was a characteristic practice of ecclesiastical meetings during the war. For examples see Millard, *Digest*, 160; *Minutes of the Forty-ninth Session of the Synod of North Carolina, Held in the Church at Goldsboro, October 29, 1862* (Fayetteville: Printed at the Presbyterian Office, 1863), 17; *Minutes of the One Hundred and Third Session of the Presbytery of Fayetteville, At Union Church, Duplin County, North Carolina, October 6-8, 1864* (Fayetteville: Printed at the Presbyterian Office, 1865), 5.

would have no true conception of their condition. The would become "puffed up like a bubble, would burst and scatter into nothingness"; reverses would prevent this from happening because through them God tested and developed the character of a people.³⁷ Attention was called to the biblical teaching, "God always chastises those whom He loves the most."³⁸ When the Federal forces penetrated into middle Tennessee and occupied Nashville early in 1862, the *Southern Presbyterian* explained that the losses were acts of divine discipline against sloth, selfishness, love of ease, and the worship of material things.³⁹ The fall of New Orleans was called a "cup of bitterness" which it was God's will for the South to take.⁴⁰ The disaster at Gettysburg was attributed not to the failure of certain of Lee's corps commanders to move at a given time but to the sin of pride. One Presbyterian editor commented that

. . . probably no offense to God has been more conspicuous in our history than our pride . . . our self-confidence. . . As we marched into Pennsylvania our people were vainly puffed up with pride. . . How shamefully we forgot God. We believe it was in mercy, He frowned upon this attempt to do without Him.⁴¹

As the war was prolonged and Confederate losses increased, Presbyterian spokesmen implored southerners not to be discouraged and assured them that if they trusted in God and repented of their sins they would receive the blessing of independence.⁴²

Throughout the war Christian faith and patriotism were practically synonymous in the thinking of most Presbyterians. Denominational newspapers and church leaders never permitted Presbyterians to forget their patriotic duty. The sermons of some Presbyterian clergymen to recruits departing for the theater of war depicted the will of God as synonymous with the cause of the South. The Reverend John Jones of Rome, Georgia, informed the Rome Light Guards that they were embarking upon a holy war and that they should never waver in their loyalty to the South.⁴³ Benjamin Palmer told members of the

³⁷ *Southern Presbyterian*, January 12, 1865; *Soldier's Visitor* (Richmond, Virginia), January, 1865, hereinafter cited as *Soldier's Visitor*.

³⁸ *Southern Presbyterian*, March 1, 1862.

³⁹ *Southern Presbyterian*, February 22, 1862; R. H. Lafferty, *Fast Day Sermon Preached in the Church of Sugar Creek, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, February 28, 1862* (Fayetteville: Printed at the Presbyterian Office, 1862), 5-14.

⁴⁰ *Central Presbyterian*, May 1, 1863.

⁴¹ *Central Presbyterian*, August 13, 1863.

⁴² J. C. Stiles, *National Rectitude the Only True Basis of National Prosperity* (Petersburg, Virginia: Evangelical Tract Society, 1863), 6, 28; J. C. Stiles, *Captain Thomas E. King; or A Word to the Army and the Country* (Atlanta: J. J. Toon and Company, 1864), 52; *Southern Presbyterian*, December 29, 1864.

⁴³ J. Jones, *The Southern Soldier's Duty. A Discourse Delivered to the Rome Light Guards and Miller Rifles, in the Presbyterian Church of Rome, Georgia, on Sabbath Morning, May 26, 1861* (Rome: Steam Power Press of D. H. Mason, 1861), 5-11.

Washington Artillery before leaving New Orleans that they were entering a war of southern civilization versus northern barbarism, and he assured them that they had the blessings of deity.⁴⁴ Another Louisiana contingent of troops heard a sermon by Palmer on the text, Psalms 144:1, "Blessed be the Lord, my strength, which teacheth my hands to war and my fingers to fight."⁴⁵ The press advised men to fulfill their patriotic duty by enlisting in the army, and ministers were urged to enter the chaplaincy. Southerners from the Potomac to the Rio Grande were implored to be of one heart against the invader and were assured that there was nothing "in Christianity opposed to . . . patriotism."⁴⁶ Those who were not able to participate in military campaigns were advised that they might purchase bonds and send books, tracts, food, clothing, and medical supplies to the soldiers, and pray for the southern cause.⁴⁷ Congregations were informed that they might display their patriotic sympathies by donating the church bell to be made into armaments.⁴⁸ During the war some clergymen made patriotic speeches on behalf of the Confederacy. In 1861 Benjamin Palmer was asked by the governor of Louisiana to speak in that state and to urge the people to support the Confederate government; several years later Joseph C. Stiles traveled throughout Georgia and spoke to the citizens on behalf of the southern cause.⁴⁹

Unpatriotic behavior such as desertion, speculation in food and clothing, and subscribing to an oath of allegiance to the federal government were condemned as wicked and sinful.⁵⁰ Persons in areas occupied by federal authorities were advised not to take an oath of loyalty to the United States government. It was explained that if one took such an oath it would be an endorsement of the "crimes of the Lincoln government" and would make one "an accomplice in murder." It was also claimed that taking the oath would ostracize one's family from society because it would be interpreted as an

⁴⁴ Thomas C. Johnson, *The Life and Letters of Benjamin Morgan Palmer* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1906), 238, hereinafter cited as Johnson, *Palmer*.

⁴⁵ Johnson, *Palmer*, 237.

⁴⁶ *North Carolina Presbyterian*, April 27, 1861; *Central Presbyterian*, March 12, 1863.

⁴⁷ *Central Presbyterian*, November 1, 1861, September 11, 1862; Journal of William H. Foote, December 29, 1863, Union Theological Seminary Library, Richmond, Virginia.

⁴⁸ John A. Inglish to Allan MacFarlane, May 26, 1862, Allan MacFarlane Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham; Robert Stiles, *Four Years Under Marse Robert* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1903), 119.

⁴⁹ Margaret B. DesChamps, "Benjamin Morgan Palmer, Orator-Precacher of the Confederacy," *Southern Journal of Speech*, XIX (September, 1953), 19; *Southern Christian Advocate* (Augusta, Georgia), February 11, 1864, hereinafter cited as *Southern Christian Advocate*.

⁵⁰ *Central Presbyterian*, April 9, 1863, March 20, 1864.

act of treason.⁵¹ Benjamin Palmer proclaimed that duty to race and country forbade one to subscribe to an oath of loyalty to the United States government, and he urged southerners in occupied areas to choose the scaffold or dungeon rather than the dishonor which would accompany oath taking.⁵² Palmer chose neither the scaffold nor the dungeon; when Federal troops approached his area he fled.

Numerous Presbyterian clergymen heeded the advice of denominational spokesmen and entered the army as chaplains and as officers. The army was described as a place where the "field was ripe for the harvest" and ministers were needed to take the word of God to men who were exposed to danger and death, and to save them from such evils of camp life as gambling, drinking, and cursing.⁵³ During the war approximately one hundred Presbyterian clergymen entered the chaplaincy.⁵⁴ Presbyterian leaders were more active than other churchmen in trying—albeit unsuccessfully—to persuade the Confederate government to make adequate provisions for chaplains.⁵⁵ Therefore, in 1862 the Synod of Virginia appointed Moses Drury Hoge to correspond with chaplains and colonels concerning chaplain vacancies and to work with mission committees in local presbyteries in trying to secure able ministers for the chaplaincy.⁵⁶ In May, 1863, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States decided to supplement the government salary of Presbyterian chaplains so that they would have an income of one thousand dollars a year.⁵⁷ The following year it was reported that 80 percent of the Presbyterian chaplains received partial or entire support from the denomination.⁵⁸ The efforts of this church to provide chaplains elicited praise from a Baptist editor who said, "The Presbyterians are more zealous in supplying chaplains than any other [denomination] . . . and they are men of the best intellects and attainments."⁵⁹

⁵¹ *Central Presbyterian*, April 17, 1862.

⁵² *Central Presbyterian*, March 12, 1863.

⁵³ *Southern Presbyterian*, February 22, 1862.

⁵⁴ Herman A. Norton, "The Organization and Function of the Confederate Military Chaplaincy, 1861-1865" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1956), 96-98, states that the Presbyterians had approximately one hundred chaplains; Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 336-338, lists seventy-two Presbyterian clergymen who were commissioned chaplains during the war.

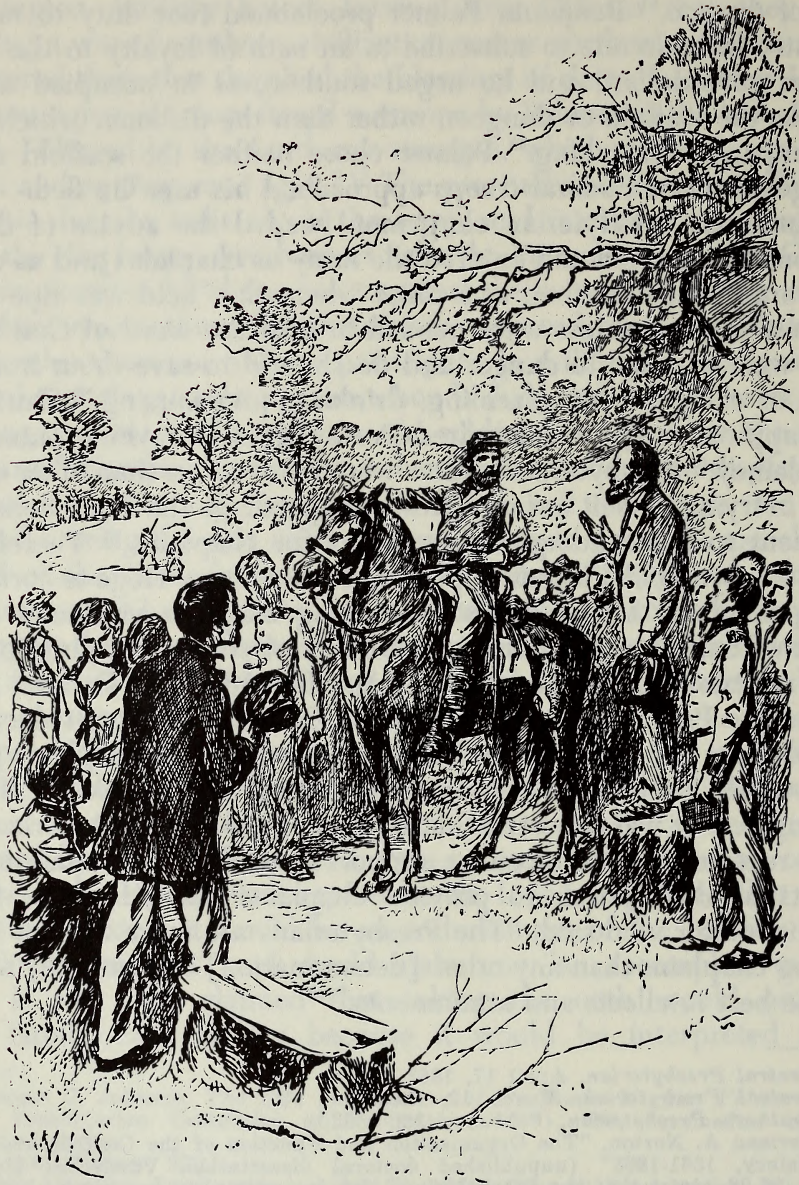
⁵⁵ Moses D. Hoge to W. P. Miles, Chairman of the Committee of Military Affairs, May 7, 1862, Moses D. Hoge Papers, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville.

⁵⁶ *Minutes of the Synod of Virginia at Their Session in Staunton, October, 1862* [cover to this publication is missing; copy may be found in Duke University Library], 310.

⁵⁷ *Central Presbyterian*, November 5, 1863, November 7, 1864.

⁵⁸ *Religious Herald* (Richmond, Virginia), February 18, 1864, hereinafter cited as *Religious Herald*.

⁵⁹ *Central Presbyterian*, October 1, 1863. Quoted from the *Confederate Baptist* (Columbia, South Carolina).



"A Service Interrupted," an illustration from *Christ in the Camp*, by J. William Jones.

Other Presbyterian clergymen served in the Confederate forces as officers, and there is no evidence that southern Presbyterians questioned the propriety of ministers' bearing arms.⁶⁰ Robert L. Dabney served as aide-de-camp to "Stonewall" Jackson during the summer of

⁶⁰ The *Southern Presbyterian*, September 7, 1861, declared that ministers were justified in bearing arms.

1862, and preached to the troops whenever conditions permitted. One colonel said of him, "our parson is not afraid of Yankee bullets, and I tell you he preached like hell."⁶¹ Ill health forced Dabney's retirement before the end of the year.⁶² The Reverend J. M. P. Atkinson, president of Hampden-Sydney College, was elected captain of a military company of students and pledged to "lead them wherever duty calls."⁶³ Other Presbyterian ministers who served as officers included J. H. McNeill, F. McMurray, L. L. Miller, and J. J. McMahon. McNeill, an officer of the American Bible Society, resigned his position when the war began, returned to North Carolina and became a lieutenant colonel in the Confederate army.⁶⁴ McMurray was the pastor of a Presbyterian church in Union Springs, Alabama, and entered the army as the captain of a company composed almost entirely of his church members.⁶⁵ L. L. Miller was elected captain of the Thomasville Rifles in North Carolina,⁶⁶ and J. J. McMahon served as a colonel in Floyd's Brigade.⁶⁷ Among the Presbyterian ministers killed in battle were Dabney Carr Harrison, Robert L. McLain, James M. Richardson, and W. P. Hickman. Harrison, the captain of a company in the Forty-sixth Virginia Brigade, was killed at Fort Donelson.⁶⁸ McLain, a colonel in the Thirty-seventh Mississippi Regiment, died from wounds suffered at Shiloh;⁶⁹ Richardson was killed when he led a company of troops against Federal forces at Marietta, Georgia,⁷⁰ and Hickman was killed at Cloyd's Farm in Virginia on May 9, 1864.⁷¹

Although the vast majority of Presbyterian clergymen were vigorous advocates of the southern cause, a few of them—scattered from Virginia to Texas—were opposed to secession and were Unionist in sentiment. At least two Presbyterian ministers in Virginia, Orr Swanson and Arthur Mitchell, were removed from church membership because

⁶¹ Johnson, *Dabney*, 264.

⁶² Johnson, *Dabney*, 263.

⁶³ *Religious Herald*, April 25, 1861.

⁶⁴ R. L. Stanton, *The Church and the Rebellion, A Consideration of the Rebellion Against the Government of the United States; and the Agency of the Church, North and South, in Relation Thereto* (New York: Derby and Miller, 1864), 175.

⁶⁵ James Stacy, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in Georgia* (Atlanta: Westminster Company, 1912), 181, hereinafter cited as Stacy, *Presbyterian Church in Georgia*.

⁶⁶ *North Carolina Christian Advocate* (Raleigh), April 29, 1861.

⁶⁷ *Christian Observer*, September 11, 1862.

⁶⁸ William J. Hoge, *Sketch of Dabney Carr Harrison, Minister of the Gospel and Captain in the Army of the Confederate States of America* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publications, 1862), 17-20.

⁶⁹ *Christian Observer*, September 11, 1862.

⁷⁰ *Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi, 1861-1867* (Jackson: Clarion Steam Publication Establishment, 1880), 51, hereinafter cited as *Synod of Mississippi, 1861-1867*.

⁷¹ Minutes of the Montgomery Presbytery, Christiansburg, Virginia, June 1-3, 1865, Union Theological Seminary Library.

they left the state and went north.⁷² J. R. Graves, a Presbyterian minister in North Carolina, was once accused of treason because of his Union sympathies, and Eli Caruthers was forced to resign from his pulpit in Greensboro because of his pro-Union views.⁷³ William Blount Carter, Presbyterian minister at Elizabethton, Tennessee, was perhaps the most active pro-Union clergyman in the South. In the summer of 1861, he conferred in Washington with President Lincoln, Secretary William H. Seward, and General George B. McClellan concerning a plan to wreck Confederate railway communications and capitalize on Union sentiment in the East Tennessee area. The plan, approved and financed by Federal authorities, called for Carter and other Unionists to arrange for a simultaneous destruction of the nine railroad bridges from Bristol, Tennessee, to Bridgeport, Alabama. The bridge burning was to be accompanied by the invasion of a Federal army into East Tennessee. It was later agreed that the plan be executed on the night of November 6, 1861. On this date five bridges were destroyed and telegraph lines from Bristol to Chattanooga were wrecked.⁷⁴

The most prominent Presbyterian clergyman who criticized slavery, secession, and the role assumed by many ministers during the war was James A. Lyon. Lyon was a native of East Tennessee and had preached at Columbus, Mississippi, since 1841. Throughout the war he was a critic of the course of action adopted by the South but he did not leave the area nor was he molested. One historian has written that Lyon's long tenure of service at Columbus had given him a position of leadership and respect in society that transcended political differences.⁷⁵ Other Presbyterian clergymen of Union sympathies were beaten, imprisoned, forced from their homes, and even murdered.⁷⁶

The war created new problems for the church as it sought to minister effectively to the religious needs of its membership. Paramount among

⁷² Minutes of the Lexington Presbytery, November 22, 1864; Minutes of the United Presbyterian Church, Richmond, October 31, 1861, Union Theological Seminary Library.

⁷³ *Central Presbyterian*, December 25, 1862, June 18, 1863; Sketch of Caruthers by J. C. Wharton, 6, 8, Eli W. Caruthers Papers, Duke Manuscript Department.

⁷⁴ Oliver P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Company, 1899), 368-371, 379, 388; Georgia Lee Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), 146; J. Reuben Sheeler, "The Development of Unionism in East Tennessee, 1860-1866," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIX (April, 1944), 189, 190.

⁷⁵ Journal of the Reverend James A. Lyon, 1861-1870, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, 9, 39, 40-41; John K. Bettersworth (ed.), "Mississippi Unionism: The Case of the Reverend James A. Lyon," *Journal of Mississippi History*, I (January, 1939), 37, 52.

⁷⁶ John H. Aughey, *Tupelo* (Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Company, 1888), 69-72, 109, 144, 280; William S. Red, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in Texas* (n.p.: The Steck Company, 1936), 188.

these problems was the need to provide for the spiritual welfare of the soldiers. Since the government never made more than token efforts to provide chaplains, the denominations embarked upon programs of army missions. At the meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States in the spring of 1863, the church combined its domestic and foreign mission boards. John L. Wilson was made secretary and attention was to center on army missions.⁷⁷ Wilson's initial task was to mail a circular letter to eighty ministers, asking if they would enter the army and labor as missionaries. In less than two months sixty were serving in the army.⁷⁸ The General Assembly also appointed commissioners to the different divisions of the army. These men were to serve as chaplains, aid in securing chaplains for vacant regiments, circulate religious literature, and make reports to the secretary of the mission board. The men appointed to the Army of Northern Virginia were B. T. Lacy and Theodorick Pryor. John N. Waddel was appointed to the Army of Mississippi, Drury Lacy to the Army of Eastern North Carolina, John Douglas to the Army of South Carolina, Rufus Porter to the Army of Georgia and Florida, Henry M. Smith to the army west of the Mississippi River, and Benjamin Palmer to the Army of Tennessee.⁷⁹ Palmer, because of illness, was shortly replaced by William Flinn.⁸⁰ The Presbyterian press and local synods and presbyteries suggested that ministers visit the army for two- or four-week periods annually and preach to the troops.⁸¹ The commissioners and missionaries were supported by funds locally collected and sent to Wilson at Columbia, South Carolina. A Presbyterian missionary was paid \$2,400 a year; and the last two years of the war this denomination spent over \$100,000 annually on army missions.⁸²

⁷⁷ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, with an Appendix, 1863* (Columbia, South Carolina: Southern Guardian Steam-Power Press, 1863), 164, hereinafter cited as *General Assembly, 1863*.

⁷⁸ Hampden C. DuBose, *Memoirs of Rev. John Leighton Wilson* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1895), 253.

⁷⁹ *Central Presbyterian*, September 10, 1863; *General Assembly, 1863*, 139.

⁸⁰ Henry A. White, *Southern Presbyterian Leaders* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1911), 341.

⁸¹ *Minutes of the One Hundred and First Session of the Presbytery of Fayetteville. Held at Pike Church, New Hanover County, North Carolina, October 8-10, 1863* (Fayetteville: Printed at the Presbyterian Office, 1863), 10; *Minutes of the Synod of Virginia. Held at Lexington, in October 1864* [cover to this publication is missing; copy may be found in Duke University Library], 355; *Minutes of the Fall Session of the Presbytery of South Carolina. Held at Upper Long Cane Church, Abbeville, September 23-26, 1863* (Greenville: G. E. Elford's Press, 1863), 14, 15.

⁸² *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, with an Appendix, 1864* (Columbia, South Carolina: Steam Power Presses of Evans and Cogswell, 1864), 317, hereinafter cited as *General Assembly, 1864*; *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, with an Appendix, 1865* (Augusta, Georgia: Constitutionalist Job Office, 1865), 390; hereinafter cited as *General Assembly, 1865*.

Under the program of army missions the ablest clergymen in the church visited the camps and conducted worship services.⁸³ In January, 1865, it was reported that 112 Presbyterian ministers were serving in camps and hospitals.⁸⁴

A significant feature of religious activity during the war was the degree of interdenominational cooperation. The spirit of Christian harmony, which had often been absent prior to 1860, manifested itself in the religious press, in the camp activities of chaplains and missionaries, and in publishing ventures. During the war arguments of theology and polity were dropped, and the overall tone of religious discussions was one of optimism, hope, and confidence. One newspaper editor noted "the entente cordiale prevails in [the] denominational press" and explained that "these are times when all hearts and hands should be united . . . and church controversies should not divide the people."⁸⁵ Robert L. Dabney asserted that "by a common and silent consent, all subjects of sectarian debate were excluded" from religious discussions during the war, and churchmen confined their deliberations "to the interests of our common Christianity."⁸⁶ Union prayer meetings and fast day observances were common practices on the home front,⁸⁷ and the sermons preached in camp were described as being suitable for any congregation in the country since they focused on "Jesus Christ and Him crucified."⁸⁸

The formation of chaplains' associations, army churches, and Christian associations illustrate the ecumenical spirit of the southern churches in wartime. The Chaplain's Association of the Army of Northern Virginia—the first organization of its kind in the army—was organized on March 16, 1863. This agency was suggested by the Presbyterian deacon, "Stonewall" Jackson, and was formed by B. T. Lacy, a Presbyterian clergyman who was elected the first president of the association.⁸⁹ The purpose of this organization was to consolidate and coordinate religious work in the various army corps and to

⁸³ Robert L. Dabney, *Life and Campaigns of Lieut.-Gen. Thomas J. Jackson* (New York: Blelock and Company, 1866), 584, hereinafter cited as Dabney, *Jackson*.

⁸⁴ *Religious Herald*, January 12, 1865; Benjamin R. Lacy, Jr., *Revivals in the Midst of the Years* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1943), 137.

⁸⁵ *Christian Advocate* (Nashville, Tennessee), December 12, 1861.

⁸⁶ Dabney, *Jackson*, 651.

⁸⁷ Willard E. Wight (ed.), "The Diary of the Reverend Charles S. Vedder, May-July, 1861," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX (March, 1955), 71-73, 77, 80, 82, 84; *Central Presbyterian*, October 29, April 2, 1863; *North Carolina Presbyterian*, March 4, 1864.

⁸⁸ J. William Jones, *Christ in the Camp, or Religion in Lee's Army* (Richmond: B. F. Johnson and Company, 1887), 14-15, hereinafter cited as Jones, *Christ in the Camp*; John B. McFerrin, "Religion in the Army of Tennessee," *Home Monthly*, IV (January, 1868), 27, hereinafter cited as McFerrin, "Religion in the Army of Tennessee."

⁸⁹ Jones, *Christ in the Camp*, 230; Dabney, *Jackson*, 651.

try to provide worship services for the troops in all of the regiments. The chaplains held weekly meetings at which times they would discuss their activities and problems, arrange to concert their labors, and devise means for supplying those regiments without chaplains. They also corresponded with ministers and arranged for them to visit the camp and preach to the soldiers, and they sought to recruit chaplains.⁹⁰ Chaplains' associations were effective agencies and were later formed in all divisions of the army.⁹¹

The preaching of the chaplains and missionaries resulted in a series of revivals in the armies which began in 1862 and continued intermittently throughout the war.⁹² To preserve the interest in religion and to hold new converts firm in the faith, clergymen in the camps organized army churches and Christian associations. The first army church was formed in the winter of 1863-1864 in Sterling Price's command. The Reverend Enoch Marvin and other chaplains drew up the articles of faith and a constitution for this church. Men of any denominational preference were admitted and the only occasion when denominationalism was noted was at the baptism of new converts. Those who expressed a Methodist or Presbyterian preference were sprinkled, and those who expressed a preference for the Baptist church were immersed. It was the custom for chaplains to give to all members of the army church certificates which were usually recognized by the home churches of the converts when they were presented for membership.⁹³ The idea of the army church became popular and spread to other areas; churches similar to the one in Price's command were organized in the Army of Tennessee and in the Army of Northern Virginia.⁹⁴

Christian associations were not the same as army churches. One did not have to express the desire of becoming a church member to

⁹⁰ Dabney, *Jackson*, 648; *Central Presbyterian*, September 10, 1863; *Religious Herald*, September 3, 1863.

⁹¹ *Army and Navy Messenger* (Petersburg, Virginia), February 1, 1864, hereinafter cited as *Army and Navy Messenger*; McFerrin, "Religion in the Army of Tennessee," 28; William W. Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival Which Prevailed in the Southern Armies During the Late Civil War Between the States of the Federal Union* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, 1877), 245, 347, hereinafter cited as Bennett, *The Great Revival*.

⁹² The story of the army revivals has been told in detail by two ministers who participated in them. W. W. Bennett, a Methodist, has told the story in his book, *The Great Revival*, and J. W. Jones, a Baptist, has described the revivals in his *Christ in the Camp*.

⁹³ Horace Jewell, *History of Methodism in Arkansas* (Little Rock: Press Printing Company, 1892), 178-179.

⁹⁴ Albert T. Goodloe, *Confederate Echoes: A Voice From the South in the Days of Secession and of the Southern Confederacy* (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1907), 401, hereinafter cited as Goodloe, *Confederate Echoes*; McFerrin, "Religion in the Army of Tennessee," 28; *Richmond Christian Advocate* (Richmond, Virginia), February 19, 1863, hereinafter cited as *Richmond Christian Advocate*; *Soldier's Visitor*, January, 1865.



"Lee at the Soldiers' Prayer Meeting," an illustration from *A Narrative of the Great Revival Which Prevalled in the Southern Armies during the Late Civil War*, by William W. Bennett.

belong to that type of organization. The Soldier's Christian Association of the Tenth Virginia Regiment proclaimed that "all who desire to do better, whether church member or not" were welcome.⁹⁵ William Flinn, a Presbyterian chaplain stationed near Fredericksburg, read the preamble and purpose of the Christian association of his North Carolina troops.

We . . . desiring to secure to ourselves while in the army, the comforts and benefits of Christian fellowship, to promote our own spirituality and growth in grace, and to increase our usefulness as Christians to those around us, agree to form an association. All who are members of any branch of the Church are entitled to admittance. . . . All from the world who profess their faith in Christ and their purpose to lead a Godly life are received.⁹⁶

Members of these nondenominational organizations conducted prayer meetings when the chaplain was absent, strove to form associations in other regiments, and helped to circulate religious readings among

⁹⁵ *Richmond Christian Advocate*, May 7, 1863.

⁹⁶ Reverend William Flinn to W. L. Mitchell, April 24, 1863, William L. Mitchell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

the troops.⁹⁷ They also sought to discourage insubordination and desertion.⁹⁸ Christian associations were found in all departments of the army.⁹⁹

Southern Presbyterians were diligent in their efforts to provide Christian reading materials for the people of the South, especially for the men in uniform. Alone and in cooperation with other denominations, Presbyterians sought to provide Bibles, New Testaments, tracts, and religious newspapers for the people. At the first meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States, there was created the Assembly's Executive Committee of Publications with headquarters in Richmond.¹⁰⁰ This committee consisted of a secretary and ten other members, and the approval of seven members was required of all manuscripts accepted for publication.¹⁰¹ It was requested that the local churches make special contributions to support this agency, whose purpose was to provide books and pamphlets for the membership of the denomination.¹⁰² By 1863 the committee was concerned primarily with providing reading matter for the soldiers. It published tracts, hymn books, and a semimonthly newspaper for the soldiers entitled the *Soldier's Visitor*. This paper, edited by John Leyburn, was printed in Richmond; the first issue appeared in August, 1863, and the last edition was that of February, 1865. The paper contained sermons, reprints of tracts, devotional readings, letters, and news; each issue consisted of 8,000 copies which were distributed gratis to the soldiers.¹⁰³ Voluntary donations permitted the publishers of the different Presbyterian newspapers to send copies to the camps for free distribution. In 1863 it was reported that 2,000 copies of the *Central Presbyterian* were sent to the army each week; and that 3,000 and 4,000 copies respectively of the *Christian Observer* and the *Southern Presbyterian* were distributed in the army each week.¹⁰⁴

A valiant effort was made in 1863 by Moses Hoge, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Richmond, to secure Bibles and tracts in England. Hoge was sent to Britain as an emissary of the Virginia

⁹⁷ Goodloe, *Confederate Echoes*, 378, 384, 391, 420.

⁹⁸ David E. Johnston, *The Story of A Confederate Boy in the Civil War* (Portland, Oregon: Glass and Prudhomme, 1914), 291-292.

⁹⁹ *Richmond Christian Advocate*, May 7, 1863; *Central Presbyterian*, March 5, 1863; *Southern Christian Advocate*, April 13, 1865.

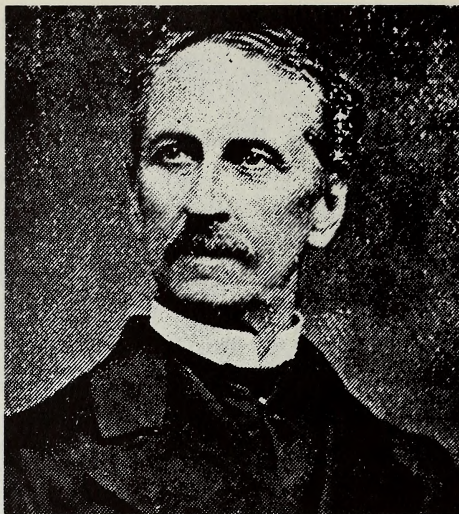
¹⁰⁰ *General Assembly*, 1861, 40.

¹⁰¹ *General Assembly*, 1861, 40.

¹⁰² *General Assembly*, 1861, 40.

¹⁰³ *General Assembly*, 1863, 147; *General Assembly*, 1864, 308; *Christian Observer*, August 13, 1863; Henry S. Stroupe, *The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865: An Annotated Bibliography with Historical Introduction and Notes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1956), 103.

¹⁰⁴ Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 255.



Moses Drury Hoge, D.D., pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Richmond, traveled to England in 1863 to purchase Bibles, New Testaments, and tracts for distribution in the Confederacy. Photograph from *Christ in the Camp*.

Bible Society and of the Presbyterian Committee of Publications to purchase a supply of Bibles, New Testaments, and tracts. He was to ship those items to Nassau, and from there southerners were to try to bring them through the blockade. Hoge was well received in England; the board of managers of the British and Foreign Bible Society gave him a grant of 10,000 Bibles, 50,000 New Testaments, and 250,000 portions of Psalms and Gospels, and the Religious Tract Society gave him tracts and pamphlets valued at £300. This literature was brought to Nassau but only a fraction of it escaped the blockade and reached the Confederacy.¹⁰⁵

Presbyterian representatives were present at Augusta in March, 1862, when a group of churchmen, representing all of the major Protestant denominations, met and organized the Bible Society in the Confederate States of America. Although the Bible Society was hampered by a shortage of materials it published several printings of the New Testament and was ably supported by the southern Presbyterians.¹⁰⁶ Presbyterians were also active in at least four nondenominational organizations whose purpose was to provide religious litera-

¹⁰⁵ *Central Presbyterian*, April 16, December 17, 1863; *Christian Observer*, July 23, 1863; Hoge, *Moses Drury Hoge*, 169, 180; W. Edwin Hemphill, "Bibles Through the Blockade," *Commonwealth*, XVI (August, 1949), 9-12, 30-32.

¹⁰⁶ *Proceedings of the Bible Convention of the Confederate States of America, Including the Minutes of the Organization of the Bible Society, Augusta, Georgia, March 19-21, 1862, and Also A Sermon Preached Before The Convention by the Rev. George F. Pierce, D.D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South* (Augusta: Printed at the Constitutional Office, 1862), 9; *First Annual Report of the Bible Society of the Confeder-*

ture for the people of the South. The Evangelical Tract Society was formed by a committee of Christians in Petersburg in the summer of 1861. A publishing committee, created to determine which manuscripts should be printed, included a Presbyterian, a Methodist, a Baptist, and an Episcopalian. During the war this society printed over one hundred different tracts which totaled in excess of 60 million pages, and published a semimonthly newspaper, the *Army and Navy Messenger*.¹⁰⁷ In June, 1861, a group of ministers representing the different churches in Raleigh, established the General Tract Agency. The publications of this organization were praised by Presbyterian clergymen and chaplains.¹⁰⁸ The South Carolina Tract Society and the Tract Society of Houston were also supported by the Presbyterians.¹⁰⁹

The widely held view that the war was partly the judgment of God upon the people of the South for failure to Christianize the Negro prompted a reevaluation of certain aspects of slavery during the war.¹¹⁰ In 1861 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States appointed a three-man committee, made up of James A. Lyon, Charles C. Jones, and T. Pryor, to prepare a report on religious instruction for colored people.¹¹¹ This committee asserted that slaves had the same claim upon their masters for religious instruction as did the masters' children, and slaveowners were urged to provide religious instruction for them and to permit them to attend worship services. It was also the duty of large planters, the committee affirmed, to provide chapels for their slaves.¹¹² Presbyterians believed that there were certain abuses in the slave system which were contrary to biblical teachings and should be corrected. A committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church reported in 1863 that there should be laws to protect the marriage and family life of slaves. "To ignore such legislation," it was claimed, "sets at defiance the precepts of the

ate States of America, 1863 (Augusta: Printed at the Constitutionalist Office, 1863), 6, 11; *Second Annual Report of the Bible Society of the Confederate States of America, 1864* (Augusta: Steam Power Press of Stockton and Company, 1864), 8; *Christian Observer*, May 21, 1863.

¹⁰⁷ *Christian Observer*, July 10, 1862; *Army and Navy Messenger*, March 16, 1865.

¹⁰⁸ W. J. W. Crowder, *General Tract Agency, Raleigh, North Carolina* (Raleigh: General Tract Agency, 1862), 1-4.

¹⁰⁹ *Descriptive Catalogue of the Tracts Published by the South Carolina Tract Society* (Charleston: Evans and Cogswell, n.d.), 19-23; *Christian Observer*, January 21, 1864.

¹¹⁰ Joseph B. Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States: A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1914), 117; *Christian Index*, March 23, 1863; *Southern Christian Advocate*, January 14, 1864.

¹¹¹ *General Assembly, 1861*, 15.

¹¹² J. Leighton Wilson, "Religious Instruction of the Colored People," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, XVI (October, 1863), 191, 194; *Central Presbyterian*, February 19, 1863.

Bible, the dictates of nature, and the moral sentiments of humanity.”¹¹³ The Presbyterians in Georgia petitioned the legislature of that state to enact legislation legalizing slave marriages.¹¹⁴ Laws which forbade the teaching of slaves to read and write were also considered abuses of the slave system, since they interfered with the master’s duty to Christianize his slaves; and in 1863 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church recommended that all laws prohibiting the teaching of a slave to read and write be repealed.¹¹⁵

There was some private discussion among Presbyterian leaders during the war concerning the propriety of emancipation. In 1861 James H. Thornwell informed Benjamin Palmer that while in Europe the previous summer he had decided to advocate the gradual emancipation of slaves. He believed that emancipation would restore harmony to the nation; however, when he returned to South Carolina in September, 1860, he decided that it was too late to offer such a proposal.¹¹⁶ Robert L. Dabney claimed that the South should have begun gradual emancipation following the defeats at Vicksburg and Gettysburg; such a policy, he believed, would have prompted assistance from France and England.¹¹⁷ The opinions of Thornwell and Dabney were not publicly expressed and were suggested as a course of expedient action rather than reflecting a belief in the evils of slavery. When news of the Emancipation Proclamation reached the South it was denounced by spokesmen in all of the major denominations. The Presbyterian press labeled the Proclamation an invitation to the slaves to rise up en masse and spread murder, arson, and desolation throughout the land; it was also claimed that the Proclamation proved the hypocrisy of the North—which maintained it was fighting to preserve the Union but was actually fighting to destroy southern institutions and property.¹¹⁸ In a fast day sermon Benjamin Palmer claimed that the North was fighting “to put the descendants of Ham over us.”¹¹⁹ In the spring of 1863, a group of ministers in Richmond prepared a document which was signed by ninety-eight clergymen, including forty-one Presbyterians. Entitled *An Address to Christians Throughout the World*, it was a protest against the Emancipation Proclamation. The Proclamation was

¹¹³ James A. Lyon, “Slavery and the Duties Growing Out of the Relation,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, XVI (July, 1863), 25, hereinafter cited as Lyon, “Slavery and the Duties.”

¹¹⁴ *Southern Presbyterian*, December 1, 1864.

¹¹⁵ Lyon, “Slavery and the Duties,” 19.

¹¹⁶ Benjamin M. Palmer, *The Life and Letters of James Henley Thornwell* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1875), 482-483, hereinafter cited as Palmer, *Thornwell*.

¹¹⁷ Johnson, *Dabney*, 283.

¹¹⁸ *Central Presbyterian*, October 2, 1862; *Christian Observer*, January 15, 1863.

¹¹⁹ Benjamin M. Palmer, *Rainbow Round the Throne*, 38.

described as a political document designed to placate fanatics in the North and an invitation to slave revolts. It was asserted that the Proclamation was not a show of mercy toward the slave but of malice toward the master.¹²⁰

Secession and the war had certain immediate and pronounced effects upon the Presbyterian church in the South. The most significant was the disruption of the church into two sectional bodies. As early as November 28, 1860, some members of the Synod of South Carolina wished to dissolve their connections with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and form a separate general assembly in the South.¹²¹ From December, 1860, the Presbyterian press in the South discussed the possibility of a split in the church. In South Carolina, Thornwell predicted "a great and terrible division," in the church and the *Southern Presbyterian* declared "there . . . ought to be . . . a division."¹²² In the months prior to Fort Sumter a number of southern presbyteries met but some of them did not elect delegates to attend the General Assembly, which was scheduled to meet at Philadelphia in mid-May.¹²³

When the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America met on May 16, 1861, the war had begun, and few southerners were present. Some presbyteries had refused to elect delegates, and most of those who had been elected refused to attend. The dangers of travel, the fear that they would not be received in a friendly manner, and the belief "that Southern men had no business in such an assembly" were among the reasons given for their absence.¹²⁴ There were sixteen commissioners from the South and they represented only thirteen of the forty-seven southern presbyteries; no delegates were present from North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, or Arkansas.¹²⁵ It appeared, in fact, that the southern Presbyterians had already withdrawn from the General Assembly; however, it was the adoption by the assembly of a resolution, introduced by Gardiner Spring of New York, which pledged allegiance and loyalty to the federal government and the Constitution, that per-

¹²⁰ Edward McPherson, *The Political History of the United States of America, During the Great Rebellion . . .* (Washington, D. C.: Solomons and Chapman, 1876), 520-521.

¹²¹ Minutes of the Synod of South Carolina, November 28, 1860, Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches.

¹²² Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 96, 120.

¹²³ T. Watson Street, *The Story of Southern Presbyterians* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1960), 56, hereinafter cited as Street, *Southern Presbyterians*.

¹²⁴ Street, *Southern Presbyterians*, 56; Ernest Trice Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South, 1607-1861* (Richmond: John Knox Press [Volume I of a projected multi-volume series, 1963—]), I, 563-564, hereinafter cited as Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*.

¹²⁵ Street, *Southern Presbyterians*, 56.

mitted southern Presbyterians to claim that they were "forced out of the church."¹²⁶

In the summer and fall of 1861, forty-seven southern presbyteries dissolved their connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and many of them suggested that a convention of southern Presbyterian delegates meet and form a new denominational organization.¹²⁷ The first Presbyterian bodies to take this action were the presbyteries of Orange and Memphis. On June 14 the Orange Presbytery in North Carolina adopted a resolution that favored the establishment of a Presbyterian church in the Confederate States, and recommended that all of the southern presbyteries send delegates to a convention in Augusta on December 4 to form such an organization. The Memphis Presbytery met June 13-14 and denounced the Gardiner Spring resolution, dissolved all connection with the General Assembly, and suggested a special meeting of church leaders to discuss the future of southern Presbyterianism.¹²⁸ These appeals, together with those of other presbyteries, resulted in a convention of churchmen, which met in Atlanta on August 15. Delegates to this meeting renounced all association with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and asked that all southern presbyteries send commissioners to a general assembly which was to be held in Augusta on December 4, 1861.¹²⁹ At the December meeting the representatives of the forty-seven presbyteries in the Confederate States formed the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America and elected Benjamin Morgan Palmer as its first moderator.¹³⁰ This church adopted the same creedal statements and polity as the older assembly, but affirmed its allegiance to the Confederate government.

Although secession and the war resulted in a split in the Presbyterian church, these same forces contributed to the unity of Presbyterianism in the South and helped to effect the merger of three different ecclesiastical organizations into one church. In October, 1861, the Synod of Nashville suggested the possibility of union among the various Presbyterian factions, and the Synod of Virginia expressed the desire for "fraternal correspondence" of all southern Presbyterian bodies. From the fall and winter of 1861-1862, the possibilities and

¹²⁶ Johnson, *Palmer*, 242; Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, 564-567; Street, *Southern Presbyterians*, 57-59; Thomas C. Johnson, *History of the Southern Presbyterian Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 325ff.

¹²⁷ Palmer, *Thornwell*, 502.

¹²⁸ Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 122-123.

¹²⁹ Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, 567.

¹³⁰ Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, 571.

problems of church union were discussed in the denominational newspapers, with most of the comment being favorable to union.¹³¹ In the fall of 1863 the Independent Presbyterian Church, which was represented by thirteen congregations, merged with the Bethel Presbytery of the Synod of South Carolina and became a part of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America.¹³² In 1863 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States and the United Synod of new school Presbyterians appointed commissioners to formulate a plan of merger. Representatives of both groups met in Lynchburg on July 24, 1863, and agreed on a plan. After minor alterations the plan was approved by the General Assembly and the meeting of the United Synod, and in 1864 the 12,000 United Synod Presbyterians became a part of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America.¹³³ Discussions of merger with the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church were cordial but did not result in union.

Presbyterian churches in areas which were invaded by the enemy suffered property damage and desecration. Church buildings, equipment, records, and parsonages were often attacked and destroyed;¹³⁴ a recent study claims that more than sixty Presbyterian church buildings were either destroyed or seriously damaged during the war.¹³⁵ Some church buildings were taken over by military authorities and converted into hospitals, and the basement of one Presbyterian church in Atlanta was used as a slaughterhouse after that city fell to Sherman.¹³⁶ The denomination suffered a severe property loss when the trustees of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina, invested over \$250,000 of the institution's endowment in Confederate bonds.¹³⁷

Another consequence of the war was the loss of membership and a decline in the number of clergymen. The absence of ministers, the scattered nature of many congregations, the draft policies of the Confederate government, and the destruction wrought by the invaders impeded the program of the church.¹³⁸ Numerous references mention

¹³¹ Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 142-143, 211.

¹³² Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 5, 251.

¹³³ Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 244-269.

¹³⁴ *Christian Observer*, March 5, 1863; *Central Presbyterian*, December 10, 1863; J. B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 2 volumes, 1866), II, 469.

¹³⁵ Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 311.

¹³⁶ Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 312; Minutes of the Hanover Presbytery, Salem Church, October 24, 1862, Union Theological Seminary Library.

¹³⁷ *Christian Index*, May 20, 1864; *General Assembly*, 1865, 365.

¹³⁸ Robert E. Thompson, *A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States* (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1895), 163; *General Assembly*, 1863, 155;

the loss of members; the membership of Presbyterian churches in North Carolina declined by more than two thousand during the war, and the loss was greater elsewhere.¹³⁹ The denomination's program of higher education was interrupted by the war and practically all college level instruction ceased. The refusal of the Confederate government to exempt ministerial students from military service caused a decline in the number of clergymen during the war years. The faculties of the Presbyterian seminaries in South Carolina and Virginia petitioned Confederate authorities to change this policy and to permit young men who were preparing for the ministry to forego military service, but their petitions were ignored.¹⁴⁰ The effects of this policy were noted when it was reported that the Presbytery of Charleston ordained only one man during the four war years, and in North Carolina the church gained only eight clergymen, some of whom moved into the state from other areas.¹⁴¹

The war also prevented the meeting of numerous presbyteries and synods. In some areas ecclesiastical meetings were suspended entirely. The Synod of Nashville, which embraced middle and eastern Tennessee and northern Alabama, did not meet in 1862, 1863, and 1864; the Texas Synod did not meet in 1863, since a quorum was not present, and the 1864 meeting was cancelled. Most presbyteries in Mississippi did not meet in 1863 and 1864.¹⁴² Denominational communications were interrupted on occasions when the Presbyterian weekly newspapers were forced to suspend publication. In many areas of the South all that could be expected was to preserve a semblance of denominational organization, and church elders were requested to supply vacant pulpits.¹⁴³

In conclusion it might be noted that leaders in the Presbyterian church were perhaps more outspoken and articulate in their pro-secession sentiments than other southern churchmen. The *Southern*

Minutes of the Synod of South Carolina at its Sessions in 1862 and 1863 (Camden, South Carolina: W. K. Rodgers, 1864), 19; *Synod of Mississippi, 1861-1867*, 34, 49.

¹³⁹ Stacey, *Presbyterian Church in Georgia*, 182; Jones and Mills, *Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, 372; D. I. Craig, *A History of the Development of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1907), 34, hereinafter cited as Craig, *Presbyterian Church in North Carolina*; H. M. White (ed.), *Rev. William S. White, D.D., and His Times: An Autobiography* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1891), 175.

¹⁴⁰ Francis R. Flournoy, *Benjamin Mosby Smith, 1811-1893* (Richmond: Richmond Press, 1947), 78.

¹⁴¹ *General Assembly, 1865*, 366; Craig, *Presbyterian Church in North Carolina*, 34.

¹⁴² *Synod of Mississippi, 1861-1867*, 34, 49; Minutes of the Texas Synod, 1863, 1864, Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches; Minutes of the Synod of Nashville, Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches; Minutes of the Session of the Piedmont Presbyterian Church, Union Theological Seminary; *Christian Observer*, September 29, 1864.

¹⁴³ *Southern Presbyterian*, October 6, 1864.

Presbyterian and prominent clergymen such as James H. Thornwell and Benjamin M. Palmer were vigorous exponents of southern nationalism, but none of the Presbyterian apologists for the southern cause championed secession until after the election of Lincoln and the call for a state convention by the governor of South Carolina. The arguments of Presbyterian spokesmen, who advocated secession, were those made familiar by states' rights politicians who had voiced them in the Missouri Compromise debates forty years earlier. The influence of Presbyterian clergymen on the course of secession seems to have been minimal. The secession movement was essentially a political movement and was publicly embraced by religious leaders only in late 1860 and early 1861. Evidence indicates that churchmen were followers of the movement rather than leaders. Blame for secession, the war, and the splitting of the denomination was placed on northerners. The church informed the people of the South that their war was a just and holy one, and all Christians were urged to pray for the welfare of the Confederate government and its armies. The Presbyterian church made valiant efforts to minister to the spiritual needs of the soldiers, to provide religious readings for the people of the South, and to continue an effective ministry on the home front. Numerous ministers served as chaplains and missionaries in the army, and the Presbyterians labored diligently, both on the denominational level and with others, to provide Bibles, New Testaments, tracts, and other items for the people of the Confederacy. The church suffered heavy material losses during the war, and when hostilities ceased countless churches had to be rebuilt or repaired, educational endowments had to be restored, clergymen had to be recruited and trained, and organizational ties had to be reformed. The task of rebuilding faced Presbyterians in the South.

REVOLUTIONARY ORIGINS OF THE SOUTH'S CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSES

BY DAVID L. SMILEY*

"The American Revolution, with its foreign and future consequences," James Madison declared in 1790, "is a subject of such magnitude that every circumstance connected with it, more especially every one leading to it, is already and will be more and more a matter of investigation." For that reason he regarded the proceedings in Virginia during the Stamp Act crisis a quarter-century earlier as peculiarly significant. Information about those events, he said, was "a sort of debt due from her contemporary citizens to their successors." He asked elder statesman Edmund Pendleton, therefore, to write out his recollections of the Stamp Act resolves of 1765—"by whom and how the subject commenced in the Assembly; where the resolutions proposed by Mr. Henry *really* originated; what was the sum of the arguments for and against them, and who were the principal speakers on each side."¹

Madison's interest in 1790 in the background to the Revolution was no idle antiquarian speculation. Expressed when Congress was debating the question of state debt assumption, and only a few months prior to adoption of the Virginia Resolutions on that subject, it was an implied recognition of the continuity of constitutional arguments in America. As Madison came to realize, there were fundamental similarities between the legal defenses employed to justify opposition to Acts of Parliament in the Revolutionary generation and those heard

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¹ Madison to Pendleton, April 4, 1790, in Gaillard Hunt (ed.), *The Writings of James Madison* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 9 volumes, 1900-1910), VI, 9-10, hereinafter cited as Hunt, *Writings of James Madison*. Compare the opinion of the editor of the *Times* (London): "The rebels or patriots of 1772 [*sic*] invoked rights and asserted principles which could not fail to be serviceable to any rebels or patriots of future times." Noting that the Revolutionaries of 1776 searched diligently through Puritan histories seeking the "forms of revolution," he said that "the Seceders of the present day may turn to the records of the American Revolution with far greater success. . . . We think the Seceding States might appeal with some plausibility in defense of their proceedings to the precedents of the Revolutionary War. . . ." *Times* (London, England), May 24, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Times* (London).

under the Constitution in supporting resistance to national legislation. Though it would be years before James Madison used constitutional contentions with which he had become familiar in 1776, others were already renewing the struggle.

As the timing of Madison's request to Pendleton indicated, the Virginia Assembly's response to the Stamp Act in 1765 and to the assumption of state debts in 1790 offered an example of such continuity. In the earlier year Patrick Henry's resolutions marked the prologue to the Revolution; twenty-five years later the same man's resolutions, addressed to a similar grievance and couched in comparable language, sounded the alarm which initiated a new conflict over constitutional interpretation and expressed a philosophy which in the nineteenth century became characteristically southern. Far from being original in their efforts to circumvent a hostile majority, the apologists for southern rights from 1790 to 1860 were but adapting a constitutional mechanism which had served Americans once before. The intellectual preparation and legal vindication of resistance in the War for American Independence supplied the origins of the Old South's constitutional rationale. The leaders of the Revolution evolved a set of constitutional principles which patriots in all parts of the country could accept as a means of preserving human liberty, and these same principles were adapted by a sectional minority in defense of states' rights and southern institutions, including slavery. This shift in attitudes was a significant development in American thought.

Those impassioned southerners who chose secession in 1860 were fully aware of the similarities between their actions and those of the Revolutionary patriots. As they saw themselves, they were but following in the footsteps of the Founding Fathers. A New Orleans editor contended that "the Confederate States are acting over again the history of the American Revolution of 1776."² The South Carolina Convention of 1860 declared that the South stood "exactly in the same position toward the Northern States that our ancestors did toward Great Britain,"³ and a delegate to that convention evoked patriotic emotions when he shouted that "the tea has been thrown overboard; the Revolution of 1860 has begun."⁴ Even volunteer versifiers, answer-

² *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana), hereinafter cited as *Daily Picayune*, in Frank Moore (ed.), *The Rebellion Record* (New York: G. P. Putnam and D. Van Nostrand, 11 volumes and supplement, 1861-1868), II, 252.

³ "Address of the People of South Carolina, Assembled in Convention, to the People of the Slaveholding States of the United States," in *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: Gibbes, 1862), 467-476. The quotation is on page 468.

⁴ Quoted in Alan Barker, *The Civil War in America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961), 93.

ing the call to the colors with poetry, often bad, sang of the resemblances between 1776 and 1860. As one expressed it:

Yes, call them rebels! 'tis the name
Their patriot fathers bore,
And by such deeds they'll hallow it,
As they have done before.⁵

But for all their proud assumption of the patriots' mantle, the nineteenth century defenders of local autonomy would have strengthened their case had they known and followed Madison's injunction to study carefully the coming of the American Revolution. Every one of their constitutional arguments had its counterpart in the Revolutionary quarrel with Britain. Even the editor of the London *Times*, with an ill-concealed malicious glee, noted the comparisons clearly. The North had a good case, but it was "surprisingly like the cause of England," he said. "By substituting the words 'British Empire' for 'American Union' we shall get very nearly the case of George III and his ministers." Defenders of the Union had not advanced a single argument against secession, he asserted, "which could not have been employed with equal justice by Lord North."⁶

In spite of the proud southern recognition and the somewhat spiteful English corroboration of the similarities between 1776 and 1860, there were basic differences between the two American "secessions" and the two civil wars for independence. Beyond the fact that each historical event is unique, perhaps the most obvious disparity was the difference between the constitutions to which each group appealed. The British Constitution and the United States Constitution were alike in that each was susceptible to different interpretations so that each side in both conflicts could clothe itself in the garments of legality. But the nebulous nature of the British Constitution as compared to the definite written instrument of 1787 made the tasks of the Revolutionary generation more difficult. Though they remained convinced that they were preserving ancient English rights granted under a specific and long-established Constitution against the perversions of a tyrannical King and Parliament, ultimately the 1776 rebels reduced their emphasis upon the Constitution in favor of an equally nebulous doctrine

⁵ *Daily Picayune*, May 26, 1861, quoted in E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, Volume VII of *A History of the South*, edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press [projected 10 volumes, 1948—], 1950), 60.

⁶ *Times* (London), May 24, 1861. For a dissenting view of the two rebellions, see George Fitzhugh, "The Revolutions of 1776 and 1861 Contrasted," in *Southern Literary Messenger*, XXXVII (November and December, 1863), 718-726.

of "natural rights" as their primary defense. There were other important differences. Changes in communications, in values, and in personalities contributed unique characteristics to each event.

Still, stripped of their superficial trappings, the two sets of American rebels gave considerable substance to the observations of the London editor. The constitutional bases of both civil wars were arguments which displayed similar verbiage if not always exactly comparable meanings. Each contended that legitimate governments were compacts between principals; that certain legislation had violated fundamental charters—the products of compact agreements—and was therefore null and void; that local governments were supreme in their political spheres and could judge the actions of the general government in the light of the fundamental law; and that any change in the essentially federal nature of government was destructive of human liberty. Considered broadly, even the grievances voiced in the two rebellions—tariffs or commercial regulation, taxation, home rule and individual rights, and the control of western territory—demonstrated a startling similarity. Constitutional theorists and publicists in both camps, confronted with a hostile majority whether in the British Parliament or in the United States Congress and the Electoral College, fell back upon arguments and devices which had much in common.

Each group began with the compact theory of government. The colonials, utilizing European political writers such as John Milton and John Locke, James Harrington and Algernon Sidney, had long asserted the contractual nature of the state. To the Puritans it was but the extension of covenant Calvinism into the secular sphere. "It is of the nature and essence of every society," John Winthrop declared, "to be knitt together by some Covenant, either expressed or implied."⁷ Similar views appeared in the Mayflower Compact, the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, and in the frontier charters such as that of Watauga. Patrick Henry, in his argument—or that of his biographers—in the Parson's Cause, extended the compact idea to include the colony's connection with Britain.⁸ James Otis declared that "the form and mode of government is to be settled by *compact*," and Samuel Adams was sure that "whatever Government in general may be founded in, Ours was manifestly founded in Compact."⁹ In 1776 the

⁷ Quoted in Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1958), 93.

⁸ William Wirt, *The Life of Patrick Henry* (Hartford, Connecticut: S. Andrus and Son [Tenth Edition], 1850), 46-47.

⁹ James Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (Boston: n.p. [Third Edition, Corrected], 1766), 22; this pamphlet is reprinted in Charles F. Mullett, "Some Political Writings of James Otis," *University of Missouri Studies*, IV (July 1, 1929), 45-101. Harry A. Cushing (ed.), *The Writings of Samuel Adams* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 4 volumes, 1904-1908), I, 29, hereinafter cited as Cushing, *Writings of Samuel Adams*.

Continental Congress was therefore on familiar ground when it declared that governments were instituted among men, "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."¹⁰

The compact theory of government was a part of the Americans' heritage from the eighteenth century, and they continued it in the process by which the state conventions ratified the Constitution of 1787. That method of approval, together with the fact that the Constitution itself established a government partly national and partly federal, made the compact idea a fundamental defense in later opposition to national legislation. "By compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States," ran Jefferson's classic statement in 1798, "they constituted a general government for special purposes. . . . To this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming, as to itself, the other party."¹¹

In Jefferson's verbal footsteps followed other publicists who found acts of national legislation distasteful. Defined as an agreement between coeval states united in a league or confederation, the phrase "compact theory" rolled easily off the tongues of southern leaders. In 1831 John C. Calhoun declared that "the Constitution of the United States is, in fact, a compact, to which each State is a party."¹² And in a Senate speech in 1860 Jefferson Davis demonstrated the tenacity of the idea: "the States were the grantors," he said; "they made the compact; they gave the Federal agent its powers."¹³ So close were the theoretical connections between the two revolutions that in 1798 Jefferson could assert that he had not departed from the principles he followed in 1775, and in 1831 Calhoun could claim that he was true to the republican spirit of 1798.¹⁴

If the compact idea gave continuity to a set of constitutional arguments, in other aspects of the minority's defenses the nineteenth cen-

¹⁰ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 34 volumes, 1904-1937), V, 510, hereinafter cited as *Journals of the Continental Congress*. See Andrew C. McLaughlin, "Social Compact and Constitutional Construction," *American Historical Review*, V (April, 1900), 467-490, for an argument that the idea of compact underwent a change in meaning between 1776 and 1860.

¹¹ "The Kentucky Resolutions of 1798," in Saul K. Padover, *The Complete Jefferson* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1943), 128-129.

¹² Richard K. Crallé (ed.), *The Works of John C. Calhoun* (New York: Appleton, 6 volumes, 1853-1855), VI, 60, hereinafter cited as Crallé, *Works of Calhoun*. See also Calhoun's statement in the *South Carolina Exposition*, quoted in Crallé, *Works of Calhoun*, VI, 36.

¹³ Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (New York: Appleton, 2 volumes, 1881), I, 585, hereinafter cited as Davis, *Rise and Fall*.

¹⁴ Jefferson to Samuel Smith, August 22, 1798, in Henry Augustine Washington (ed.), *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington: Taylor & Maury, 9 volumes, 1853-1854), IV, 254; Calhoun to Christopher Van Deventer, August 5, 1831, in J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun* (Washington: Government Printing Office [*Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1899*, Volume II], 1899), 296.

tury drew heavily upon Revolutionary pamphleteers. Upon the premise of the compact theory, expanded to include the local government's relationship to the general, both groups defined their union as a federal one of political members possessing certain features of sovereignty. Federalism, the idea that there were two levels of government, one general and the other local, lay at the roots of Colonial resistance to Parliament. However real may have been the economic pressures, the heady content of the intellectual currents sweeping out of Enlightenment Europe, or the popular demands for social change, Colonial American spokesmen were careful to express their opposition to British legislation in constitutional and federal terms.¹⁵

The defenders of Colonial rights asserted that their charters granted them legislative supremacy over their internal matters. "By this Charter," said Samuel Adams in Massachusetts, "we have an exclusive Right to make Laws for our own internal Government and Taxation." Distance rendered it impractical for Americans to be represented in Parliament, he continued, speculating that it was "very probable that all subordinate legislative powers in America, were constituted upon the Apprehension of this Impracticability."¹⁶ The American governments, Massachusetts' Governor Francis Bernard confirmed, "claim to be perfect states, not otherwise dependent upon Great Britain than by having the same king."¹⁷ Rhode Island's Governor Stephen Hopkins, defining the Empire as a federal union, declared that "each of the colonies hath a legislature within itself, to take care of its Interests . . . yet there are things of a more general nature, quite out of reach of these particular legislatures, which is necessary should be regulated, ordered, and governed."¹⁸

Colonial opposition to imperial taxation brought forth only an immediate manifestation of a prior belief in a federal Empire. The Massachusetts House of Representatives, in a debate with Governor

¹⁵ Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Genius of American Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), Chapter III. In Chapter IV Professor Boorstin argues, in general terms, the continuity of constitutional thought between the Revolution and the Confederacy. See also Thad W. Tate, "The Coming of the Revolution in Virginia: Britain's Challenge to Virginia's Ruling Class, 1763-1776," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIX (July, 1962), 323-343, for an argument that constitutional issues combined with a threat to Virginia's power structure brought on revolution—a thesis which might apply with equal force to the Confederates. Additional interpretive matter on this point is in R. G. Adams, *Political Ideas of the American Revolution* (New York: Facsimile Library, 1939) and Charles F. Mullett, *Fundamental Law and the American Revolution, 1760-1776* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933).

¹⁶ Cushing, *Writings of Samuel Adams*, I, 29.

¹⁷ Quoted in Claude H. Van Tyne, *The Causes of the War of Independence* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922), 218.

¹⁸ Quoted in Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison, *The American Constitution* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1948), 69-70.

Bernard over the Stamp Act, asserted "that the charter of this province invests the General Assembly with the power of making laws for its internal government and taxation"—obviously taking its language from Samuel Adams.¹⁹ Perhaps the clearest Colonial statement of federalism appeared in the Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress. In an appeal based upon "the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts," they petitioned for redress of grievances "as Englishmen their ancestors in like cases have usually done." They declared that the foundation of English liberty was the right of popular participation in government. Since they could not properly be represented in the British Parliament, they asserted their right to a "free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has heretofore been used and accustomed." But at the same time they would "cheerfully consent" to Parliamentary regulation of external commerce. In these resolutions the Continental Congress explicitly stated its view of the Empire as a federal, rather than a unitary, political organization.²⁰

The states' rights dogma, characteristically a fundamental element in the Old South's constitutional defenses, thus had roots in Revolutionary thought. Though most southern spokesmen went no further back than the Constitutional Convention of 1787, a few recognized the Colonial origins of American federalism. Governor Littleton W. Tazewell of Virginia was one who did. "In their colonial state, they constituted several distinct Societies, whose affairs were regulated by governments absolutely independent of each other," he said. "In throwing off their former governments they did not dissolve their former associations—the Societies remained, after the governments were no more." The Declaration of Independence, Tazewell declared, "far from proclaiming that they were One People or One Nation, in its own terms declared them to be free and Independent States."²¹

¹⁹ Alden Bradford (ed.), *Speeches of the Governors of Massachusetts from 1765 to 1775* (Boston: Russell and Gardner, 1818), 45, quoted in Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 101, hereinafter cited as Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*.

²⁰ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, I, 67-69. For a discussion of the implications of the Declaration and Resolves, see Charles H. McIlwain, *The American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1923; and Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958), 114-137.

²¹ Littleton W. Tazewell, *A Review of the Proclamation of President Jackson of the 10th of December, 1832* (Norfolk, Virginia: J. D. Ghiselin, 1888), 53. See also Crallé, *Works of Calhoun*, I, 188-193.

Other opponents of national power also called upon the pre-Revolutionary past to justify their present contentions. James Madison, a youthful participant in the Revolution, saw the continuity between Colonial theory and states' rights under the Constitution. "The fundamental principle of the Revolution was, that the Colonies were co-ordinate members with each other and with Great Britain, of an Empire united by a common executive sovereign, but not united by any common legislative sovereign," he said in 1800. "The legislative power was maintained to be as complete in each American Parliament, as in the British Parliament. . . . A denial of these principles by Great Britain, and the assertion of them by America," Madison concluded, "produced the Revolution."²² In 1844 Robert Barnwell Rhett praised the sense of independence "which prompted our ancestors to enter the field in 1776," and said the same spirit would make southerners "warm now, and watchful, to resent every assault upon the province of our local government and from whatever quarter it may come."²³

Building upon the conviction that local governments were supreme in their own domains, the next step in the minority's defense was to assert the limited nature of the general government. In placing limitations upon the legislative powers of their unions, both groups urged a strict construction of their constitutions. The claim that the British constitution put limits upon the powers of Parliament appeared frequently in the quarrel with the mother country. It was heard in Virginia in 1753, when the Assembly declared that "the Rights of the Subject are so secured by Law, that they cannot be deprived of the least Part of their Property, but by their own Consent: Upon this excellent Principle is our Constitution founded."²⁴ In Massachusetts Samuel Adams could become quite academic in expounding the idea of constitutional limitations. "If then according to Lord Coke, *Magna Charta* is declaratory of the principal grounds of the *fundamental* laws and liberties of the people, and Vattel is right in his opinion, that the supreme legislature cannot change the constitution," he wrote, "I think it follows, whether Lord Coke has expressly asserted it or not, that an act of Parliament made against *Magna Charta* in violation of its essential parts, is void."²⁵

²² Hunt, *Writings of James Madison*, VI, 373.

²³ *Mercury* (Charleston, S.C.), August 1, 1844, quoted in William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee* (New York: George Braziller, 1961), 265. In "The Spirit of '76," 262-270, Professor Taylor discusses efforts of South Carolinians to relate themselves to the Revolutionary patriots.

²⁴ Quoted in David J. Mays, *Edmund Pendleton, 1721-1803* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2 volumes, 1952), I, 76, hereinafter cited as Mays, *Edmund Pendleton*.

²⁵ Cushing, *Writings of Samuel Adams*, II, 325-326.

Other Colonial leaders agreed that the British Constitution placed limits upon Parliament and thereby substantiated their claims to English political rights. John Rutledge of South Carolina assured the First Continental Congress that "our claims, I think, are well founded on the British Constitution." And to the same gathering Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania said that he had sought the basis of American rights "in the constitution of the English government, and there found them. We may draw them from this source securely."²⁶

British taxation of their American colonies brought forth the most vigorous appeals to the Constitution. The Virginia Assembly attacked the Stamp Act as contrary to a "fundamental principle of the British Constitution, without which Freedom can no Where exist."²⁷ The Massachusetts House of Representatives went even further. "It by no means appertains to us to presume to adjust the boundaries of the power of Parliament; but boundaries there undoubtedly are," its members declared. "We beg leave just to observe that the charter of this province invests the General Assembly with the power of making laws for its internal government and taxation, and that this charter has never yet been forfeited."²⁸ In a protest to the Townshend Acts the Massachusetts House resolved that "In all free states, the constitution is fixed; it is from thence, that the legislative derives its authority; therefore it cannot change the constitution without destroying its own foundation."²⁹ Samuel Adams defined the Townshend duties as "Infringements of their natural and constitutional Rights," and James Otis expressed the opinion that "there are Limits, beyond which if Parliaments go, their Acts bind not."³⁰

With these constitutional appeals as precedents, after 1789 it was easy for the opponents of national legislation to continue the tradition. In 1790 the Virginia delegates could "find no clause in the constitution authorizing Congress to assume the debts of the states," and a decade later asserted "the authority of constitutions over governments, and . . . the sovereignty of the people over constitutions."³¹ Thomas Jef-

²⁶ Quoted in Mays, *Edmund Pendleton*, I, 287-288. See also Andrew C. McLaughlin, *The Foundations of American Constitutionalism* (New York: New York University Press, 1932), 140-142, hereinafter cited as McLaughlin, *Foundations of American Constitutionalism*.

²⁷ Mays, *Edmund Pendleton*, I, 158.

²⁸ Quoted in Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 101.

²⁹ Massachusetts House to the Earl of Shelburne, January 15, 1768, in Alden Bradford (ed.), *Massachusetts State Papers*, reprinted in Henry S. Commager, *Documents of American History* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts [Fourth Edition], 1948), 65, hereinafter cited as Commager, *Documents*, as a convenient source for pertinent materials.

³⁰ Cushing, *Writings of Samuel Adams*, I, 184-185, reprinted in Commager, *Documents*, 66; Otis quoted in Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 140.

³¹ "Virginia Resolutions on Debt Assumption," in W. W. Hening (ed.), *Statutes at*

person regarded it as axiomatic that acts of the general government not specifically granted in the constitution were without authority.³² Into the nineteenth century the minority, whether in New England after 1801 or later in the South, insisted upon retaining the letter of the Constitution as the preserver of their liberties. John C. Calhoun, who had learned his constitutional theory in Tapping Reeve's law school in Litchfield, Connecticut, in the days of Federalist eclipse, based his complicated minority-defense mechanism upon the Constitution, which he declared had established a federal union of sovereign entities. To prevent the dread alternatives of centralization or disunion, he set himself the objective "that the government of the United States should be restored to its federal character. Nothing short of a perfect restoration," he said, "as it came from the hands of its framers, can avert them."³³ After Calhoun many others, including Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens, employed similar arguments. Their thinking, however, was original not so much in their basic premises as in their adaptation of a well-defined Revolutionary constitutional interpretation to meet their contemporary needs.³⁴

In their appeal to the Constitution the colonials anticipated an idea later celebrated as the doctrine of state interposition. In 1771 Samuel Cooper said of the people of Boston that "the greater Part have a settled persuasion . . . that our Parliament here ought to come between the sovereign and the American subject, just in the same Manner that the British Parliament does with respect to the British subject. . . ." ³⁵ Nineteen years later, when the Virginia delegates opposed the assumption of state debts, they declared themselves the "guardians then of the rights and interests of their constituents, as sentinels placed by them over the ministers of the federal government, to shield it from their encroachments." Twenty-seven years later, when the Virginians objected to the Alien and Sedition Acts, they declared that the states "have the right and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the

Large of Virginia (Richmond: Printed for the editor at Franklin Press, 13 volumes, 1819-1823), XIII, 238, hereinafter cited as Henning, *Statutes*. The resolutions also appear in Commager, *Documents*, 155. The "Virginia Report of 1800," is in Hunt, *Writings of James Madison*, VI, 352.

³² Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and the Ordeal of Liberty*, Volume III of *Jefferson and His Time* (Boston: Little, Brown [projected multivolume work, 1948—], 1962), 403-404, hereinafter cited as Malone, *Jefferson and the Ordeal of Liberty*.

³³ Margaret L. Coit, *John C. Calhoun, American Portrait* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), 42. The quotation is in Crallé, *Works of Calhoun*, I, 381. For a study of differences between Madison's and Calhoun's concepts of the Union, see Edward S. Corwin, "National Power and State Interposition, 1787-1861," *Michigan Law Review*, X (May, 1912), 535-551.

³⁴ Davis, *Rise and Fall*; Alexander H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 2 volumes, 1868).

³⁵ Samuel Cooper to Thomas Pownall, November 14, 1771, in Frederick Tuckerman (ed.), "Letters of Samuel Cooper to Thomas Pownall, 1769-1777," *American Historical Review*, VIII (January, 1903), 325.

progress of the evil. . . ."³⁶ Under the Constitution the defense maneuver of state interposition to protect the citizens from outside encroachments was an important aspect of the South's particularistic philosophy, but it had roots in the earlier debate with Britain.

Along with interposition went the claim that a state had the power to judge the constitutionality of national legislation and to nullify within its borders measures which a strict reading of the fundamental law did not justify. Usually regarded as having its beginnings in the South Carolina Nullification Convention of 1832, or in Calhoun's Exposition of 1828, or even in the Kentucky Resolutions of 1799, the doctrine of nullification had its counterpart in the prologue to the Revolution. However often the colonials may have nullified commercial measures by smuggling, it was the Stamp Act which brought from them statements of the constitutional idea of nullification.

The Stamp Act was the first British effort to tax the colonists directly, so it was an open challenge to American constitutional theories. Though Colonial agents and assemblies petitioned against the measure, they had no vote in Parliament. Subjected to the legislation of an unfriendly majority, they fell back upon constitutional defenses. Patrick Henry, a newcomer to the Virginia House of Burgesses, introduced a set of resolutions designed to nullify the act within the province. The right of the people to determine their own taxes, he said, "is the only security against a burdensome taxation, and the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, without which the ancient constitution cannot exist." According to tradition, one of his resolutions included the assertion that the Virginians were "not bound to yield obedience" to an unconstitutional law.³⁷

Colonial response to Henry's resolutions was important not only in the coming of the Revolution but also in later constitutional defenses. Regardless of what actually happened in the Virginia House in May, 1765—and the truth may never be known—the doctrine of nullification spread rapidly in newspaper accounts. Upon publication of the Virginia "Resolves," groups in other colonies endorsed them and issued statements often bolder in tone. The Sons of Liberty in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for example, declared that the Stamp Act violated fundamental rights of British subjects and was "Therefore void of all Lawfull Authority, so that depending upon Meer Force it may Law-

³⁶ "Virginia Resolutions on Debt Assumption," in Hening, *Statutes*, XIII, 238; "Virginia Resolutions of 1798," in Hunt, *Writings of James Madison*, VI, 326, and reprinted in Commager, *Documents*, 182-183. See also the *South Carolina Exposition*, in Crallé, *Works of Calhoun*, VI, 55-57.

³⁷ "Virginia Stamp Act Resolves," in Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 91-92, and also in Commager, *Documents*, 56. For confusion over the resolves, see Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 89-94.

fully be oppos'd by Force."³⁸ The Northampton County Court in Virginia asserted that "the said act did not bind, affect or concern the inhabitants of this colony, in as much as they conceive the same to be unconstitutional. . . ." ³⁹ The Rhode Island Assembly appealed for resistance to the Act and directed the colony's officials to ignore it.⁴⁰ John Adams in Massachusetts defined the Act as "utterly void, and of no binding Force upon us."⁴¹ With their leaders expressing such views, Colonial mob violence effectively nullified the offending Act. Non-importation agreements and the Continental Association intended similar treatment for other British imperial actions.

From these beginnings the doctrine of nullification emerged as a weapon of the minority under the Constitution. As Madison's 1790 letter to Edmund Pendleton implied, there was a close theoretical relationship between Patrick Henry's resolutions on the Stamp Act and his remarks on the assumption of state debts. A few years later, when the Alien and Sedition Acts extended the powers of the federal judiciary to include common law jurisdiction in criminal cases, Thomas Jefferson wanted his state to declare that the "acts are, and were ab initio, null, void, and of no force or effect." The 1799 Kentucky Resolutions made it explicit that the states "being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction," and that a "nullification" of the offending measures "is the rightful remedy." It was on the basis of these precedents, reaching back to pre-Revolutionary ideas, that John C. Calhoun recommended that South Carolina could constitutionally nullify a tariff measure.⁴²

Thus, from compact theory and strict construction to nullification and secession, there were close similarities between the constitutional defenses of both the Revolutionary generation and the planter-politicians of the Old South. In both cases, when men judged the power at the center to be too great, they declared the compact to be broken. And in each instance they employed similar devices to correct the errors they decried. Each, acting upon constitutional premises, sought to block the majority by a literal interpretation of the fundamental law; each solemnly declared "unconstitutional" legislation to be null and void. When their petitions failed to bring redress, each turned to secession and a movement for independence as the means of preserv-

³⁸ Quoted in Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 203.

³⁹ Quoted in McLaughlin, *Foundations of American Constitutionalism*, 126n, and in Commager, *Documents*, 59.

⁴⁰ Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 98-99.

⁴¹ Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 140.

⁴² Malone, *Jefferson and the Ordeal of Liberty*, 407; Crallé, *Works of Calhoun*, VI, 159. See also Chauncey S. Boucher, *The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916), 33, 105-106.

ing—or of restoring—constitutional liberties. Given the opportunity to draw up a frame of government according to their own standards, each group—one in the Articles of Confederation of 1781 and the other in the Confederate Constitution of 1861—closely copied what it imagined or desired the original constitution to be.

The close agreement between the two sets of constitutional defenses did not mean that the nineteenth-century defenders of the plantation and slavery possessed more patriotism or longer memories than did their northern opponents. It did suggest that they, like their eighteenth-century predecessors, were in a minority. It meant that in the Anglo-Saxon tradition there had developed an orthodox process by which a minority could protect itself.⁴³ Any group of leaders, powerful in its own region but a minority in the larger political unit, immediately adopted a program to restrict the majority's actions. It contained the ideas of local sovereignty, or federalism; strict construction of the Constitution which bound the union together; the doctrines of sentinelship and interposition; nullification; and secession. Against these minority defenses the majority in both cases also followed a recognizable pattern of action: national sovereignty, loose construction of the Constitution, and the coercion of rebellious or dissident elements.

There were other reasons, apart from the Anglo-Saxon tradition of constitutionalism, which lay behind the southern emulation of Revolutionary opinions. The rural nature of the planters' society, and their insistence upon clinging to a Colonial economy and an outdated labor system, made them sensitive to outside criticisms. Outstripped in the population race and with the frontier closed by what they regarded as "natural limits" to slavery expansion,⁴⁴ they emphasized the federal aspects of the Union as a means of preserving their regional way of life. But more important was a continuity of leadership which served as a bridge between the two American rebellions. The same men—Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, among others—appeared as contributors in the formulation of both constitutional defenses. Memories of the methods of one revolutionary era served as guideposts for another, and subsequent southern leaders adopted the weapons and philosophy of government of an older generation. In 1800, when Madison attacked the claim that a law could be "binding on these States as one society" as a doctrine "evidently repugnant to the fundamental principle of the Revolution,"⁴⁵ he was but trans-

⁴³ See John C. Calhoun, *Address to the People of South Carolina*, in Crallé, *Works of Calhoun*, VI, 136, 139, for evidences of minority sentiment. For a discussion of the Anglo-Saxon tradition of rebellion, see Roy F. Nichols, "1461-1861: The American Civil War in Perspective," *Journal of Southern History*, XVI (May, 1950), 143-160.

⁴⁴ Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI (September, 1929), 151-171.

⁴⁵ Hunt, *Writings of James Madison*, VI, 374.

mitting a minority constitutional defense from the Revolutionary generation to its successors.

THE "TAR HEEL EDITOR" IN NORTH CAROLINA'S CRISIS, 1929-1932

BY JOSEPH L. MORRISON*

The bitterness of the Alfred E. Smith-Herbert Hoover presidential campaign and Hoover's capture of North Carolina in 1928 made inevitable a Tar Heel political showdown in 1930. It was then that Furnifold M. Simmons, in the United States Senate since 1901 and a party man of strictest sect, would have to defend his desertion of the Al Smith candidacy. The actual confrontation came in a Democratic primary contest between Simmons and Josiah W. Bailey, his one-time follower, who had led the state's pro-Smith effort. Between the two, Editor Josephus Daniels of the *Raleigh News and Observer* found little to choose. He had lambasted Simmons in 1909 for championing the Payne-Aldrich Tariff but had appreciated the way Simmons, as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, had gone down the line for President Woodrow Wilson. True, Simmons had been the patron of the unfortunate Revenue Commissioner, A. D. Watts, but Simmons had also pleased Daniels latterly by voting for government ownership and operation of Muscle Shoals. The Bailey-Daniels relationship was somewhat similar, hostility before and conciliation during the Wilson days. What finally inclined Daniels to Simmons was not the past but the future of the Democratic party; like Simmons, Daniels insisted that the national leadership of Al Smith and John J. Raskob must go. Simmons had not committed the ultimate treason of personally voting for Herbert Hoover, so the Senator had returned to the Democratic party fold in 1929 along with uncounted thousands of other southerners.

"In spite of our differences over regularity in 1928, I supported Simmons for re-election in 1930," Josephus Daniels recalled. "I felt that for one lapse he ought not to be repudiated by the party he had

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served so long and so well."¹ As the primary election day approached, Daniels' attitude was summarized in an editorial entitled "The Ides of November," in which he warned that it was more important that a Democrat be elected in November than which Democrat be preferred in June.² Daniels wrote H. E. C. Bryant: "Though I disagree with both of them in some respects, I can support either in a general election. Like you, 'I had no druthers.'"³ What really concerned Daniels was the future of his state's Democratic party in the light of the rancor that had lingered after the Smith-Hoover campaign. Simmons was denounced as a traitor on the one hand but championed by others who insisted that he should not be punished for repudiating a wet Roman Catholic Tammanyite like Al Smith. In the course of the campaign Daniels questioned one of the knowledgeable party observers, who informed him that Bailey was then leading Simmons. It was not like the ebullient editor to do so, but Daniels then turned wordlessly away from Raleigh's strategic corner of Fayetteville and Martin Streets.⁴ Simmons' defeat came as no great surprise, to be sure, and the huge majority rolled up against him bore witness, partly, to the premium then placed on party regularity. Even more likely, it testified to Simmons' "guilt by association" with President Hoover, who was now widely blamed for the nationwide depression.

In writing sympathetically to Simmons' campaign manager, Daniels tried to explain his own political impotence. "All my life I have been an anti-machine Democrat," he wrote, "even when I was in perfect accord with what the machine was doing. And lacking any organized backing, I have not been able to do many things that I wished to do."⁵ To a seasoned politician like his former fellow Cabinet member, A. S. Burleson, however, Daniels got down to cases. First off, he explained that Simmons had been physically unable to make a campaign and did not speak in his own behalf; furthermore, "most of his old strong leaders deserted him and he had to depend upon amateurs so that he never had a chance."⁶ Daniels knew full well that Simmons, as incumbent, had had to bear the brunt of much rural discontent with the Hoover administration in general and with the agricultural depression in particular. When Daniels closed Democratic ranks with Bailey,

¹ Josephus Daniels, "Life Begins at Seventy," unpublished manuscript, Jonathan Daniels Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Daniels, "Life Begins at Seventy."

² "Ides of November," *News and Observer* (Raleigh), June 4, 1930, hereinafter cited as *News and Observer*.

³ Daniels to H. E. C. Bryant, June 7, 1930, Josephus Daniels Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., hereinafter cited as Daniels Papers.

⁴ Author's interview with John W. Umstead, Jr., Chapel Hill, December 7, 1962.

⁵ Daniels to Frank A. Hampton, June 26, 1930, Daniels Papers.

⁶ Daniels to Burleson, October 16, 1930, Daniels Papers.

preparing for the "Ides of November," he addressed him as "Dear Will" and outlined the campaign issues he thought the other should stress. Bailey had written Daniels a similar "unity" letter in 1928, promising to attack the Republicans for venturing to question Daniels' record as Secretary of the Navy.⁷

To Daniels' mind a much more agreeable election contest took place that year when a replacement had to be found for Harry Woodburn Chase as president of the University of North Carolina. Early the previous year, on February 4, 1929, the *News and Observer* published a rumor that President Chase might resign, a report that caused Daniels, as a prominent university trustee, considerable embarrassment.⁸ He had known of the possibility but engaged to publish nothing; apparently reporter Ben Dixon MacNeill came upon the news independently. By February 7, in response to a friend's query, Daniels was already writing, "I have the highest opinion of Frank Graham. I like his spirit."⁹ The next month the editor made a speech of introduction for Professor William E. Dodd, who was addressing a session of the North Carolina Conference for Social Welfare. The conference president, reelected at that time, was Professor Frank Porter Graham. Daniels wrote his regrets to Graham for not being of more service during the 1929 conference which was held during the strenuous days of the General Assembly. As to the 1929 legislature, Daniels advised Graham that they ought to congratulate themselves on having gotten a tolerably good Workmen's Compensation Act.¹⁰ In editorially congratulating the legislature the next day, Daniels added mention of the secret ballot law: "The big thing is that the era of static in human welfare and in ballot reform has been given a decent burial in North Carolina."¹¹

The conference headed by Frank Graham was begun in 1912 and served as the vanguard of North Carolina's socially conscious leadership. It responded to the challenge of industrial unrest in its session of 1930, following upon the killings in the textile strikes at Gastonia and at Marion which had made worldwide newspaper headlines. Frank Graham, whom some friends were advancing for the next presi-

⁷ Daniels to Bailey, September 13, 1930; Bailey to Daniels, April 25, 1928, Daniels Papers. On the Bailey-Simmons campaign, see Elmer L. Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension in North Carolina, 1928-1936* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press [Volume 44 of *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1962), 21-46, hereinafter cited as Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*.

⁸ *News and Observer*, February 4, 1929; on Daniels' embarrassment and MacNeill's innocence, author's interview with Edwin Gill, Raleigh, March 20, 1963, hereinafter cited as Gill interview.

⁹ Daniels to Arnold A. McKay, February 7, 1929, Daniels Papers.

¹⁰ Daniels to Graham, March 9, 1929, Daniels Papers.

¹¹ *News and Observer*, March 10, 1929.

dent of the university, wrote the manifesto¹² signed by more than four hundred prominent Tar Heels, a manifesto looked upon with horror by many conservatives of the time. The statement held for nothing more subversive than (1) reaffirmation of the Bill of Rights without need of anything resembling a criminal syndicalism bill; and (2) social adjustments including a reduction of the sixty-hour work week, gradual abolition of night work for women and young people, amelioration of the limited state child labor law, plus supervision and enforcement of the aforementioned code. The publication of the manifesto made headlines, and so did its immediate support by Josephus Daniels in a two-column editorial on February 18, 1930. He wrote, in part:

Even though there may be dissent from those called "radicals," meaning those who are in such a big hurry for reforms they are tempted to dig up more snakes than they kill by their methods, and "conservatives," meaning those who act as if the great textile industry was still located in the woods and was not affected with a public interest, the great liberal, common-sense, forward-looking public will rejoice that these four hundred have pointed the way to sensible and practicable reforms, just alike to labor and capital.¹³

Within a week of the Graham-authored manifesto came the official resignation of President Chase¹⁴ and the appointment of a trustees' committee (Daniels was not a member) to bring forward names of possible successors. Graham trailed on the first ballot taken at Chapel Hill June 9, 1930, but when he forged ahead and finally won election on the fourth ballot, Josephus Daniels successfully moved that the election be made unanimous.¹⁵ Graham's real reluctance to take the position was worn down by the pleas of leading trustees like Governor O. Max Gardner, Federal Judge John J. Parker, and Josephus Daniels, who confided to him the crisis the university was then facing.¹⁶ On June 10 Daniels wrote to his son Jonathan, then on the editorial staff of *Fortune* in New York, of "the two big elections in these latter days," the Bailey-Simmons race for United States senator and the competition for the university presidency. Of Graham's reluctance Daniels said, "I believe it is the only time I ever truly saw the office seek the man and

¹² Author's interview with Frank P. Graham, Chapel Hill, April 7, 1963, hereinafter cited as Graham interview; release of the manifesto, *News and Observer*, February 16, 1930; text of the manifesto in Frank P. Graham file, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

¹³ *News and Observer*, February 18, 1930.

¹⁴ *News and Observer*, February 21, 1930.

¹⁵ Minutes of the Board of Trustees, University of North Carolina, June 9, 1930, University Archives, Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

¹⁶ Graham interview.

have to throw him down and make him take it.”¹⁷ The next day, when he wrote a warm letter of support to President Graham, Daniels also sent a letter of congratulations to Graham’s father.¹⁸

When the fellow-trustees, Editor Daniels and Judge Parker, expressed unanimity in June, they were again together after the political fight which led in the previous month to the defeat of Judge Parker’s nomination to the United States Supreme Court.¹⁹ A perennially unsuccessful Tar Heel Republican candidate, Parker had lost a campaign for governor in 1920 and had been appointed to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1925. Josephus Daniels had even recommended an honorary LL.D. for Judge Parker in 1927, explaining to the university’s President Chase, “I always feel that the University in case of the occasional North Carolina Republican who makes good, should be careful to render as much honor as to the member of the dominant party. “Particularly so,” he joked, “when he is safely immured on the bench where he can do the Democrats no harm.”²⁰ Like other Democratic leaders in the state, Daniels preferred Chief Justice Walter P. Stacy for the Supreme Court vacancy, but readily agreed on Parker’s acceptability when President Hoover nominated him on March 21, 1930.

What at first appeared a routine confirmation ran into trouble when opposition developed in two important political quarters, the American Federation of Labor and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Judge Parker had offended the AFL by upholding a “yellow dog” labor contract and the NAACP by avowing during the 1920 campaign that the “lily white” Republican party did not want Negro votes. Daniels still said nothing publicly. But when a letter from a Tar Heel Republican to one of President Hoover’s secretaries was published urging Judge Parker’s nomination in the interest of political expediency, Daniels broke his silence and in successive editorials the first three days of May, 1930, openly opposed Parker’s confirmation. The dramatic roll call in the United States Senate May 7 resulted in the refusal to confirm, after which Daniels editorialized that it all betokened a liberal challenge to the Republican administration. He spoke also, however, “of the deep personal sympathy for an upright man subjected to the humiliation he must have felt during the course of the prolonged controversy.”²¹

¹⁷ Daniels to his son Jonathan, June 10, 1930, Jonathan Daniels Papers.

¹⁸ Daniels to Dr. Alexander Graham, June 11, 1930, Daniels Papers.

¹⁹ See Richard L. Watson, Jr., “The Defeat of Judge Parker: A Study in Pressure Groups and Politics,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, L (September, 1963), 213-234, hereinafter cited as Watson, “The Defeat of Judge Parker.”

²⁰ Daniels to Chase, March 2, 1927, University Papers, University Archives.

²¹ *News and Observer*, May 8, 1930.

Judge Parker managed to repress his bitterness and closed ranks with Daniels on the university board of trustees, where the passage of time saw them become the most cordial of colleagues. Judge Parker's repudiation by the Senate was in later years termed a great mistake by the *American Bar Association Journal*,²² and Josephus Daniels probably agreed. In early 1941, following President Roosevelt's appointment of Republicans Henry L. Stimson and Frank Knox to the Cabinet, Daniels came forward with the name of John J. Parker for a vacancy on the United States Supreme Court. After Daniels' death, Parker served as chairman of the trustee committee named to draw up a memorial resolution in Daniels' honor. Judge Parker delivered the oral tribute personally.²³

The Democratic state administration, elected triumphantly in 1928 despite the Al Smith disaster, predictably caught the blows of a professional critic like Josephus Daniels who was anti-organization on principle. The able Governor O. Max Gardner, who had enjoyed Daniels' strong support, had no more than a brief honeymoon before the *News and Observer* opened fire on him. In the very month of his election Gardner got from Daniels a long letter on needed reforms in the state administration, and before his inauguration another on Daniels' chief concern in the oncoming legislative session—an eight-month, state-supported school term.²⁴ The session closed with Daniels generally happy with Gardner's own program as enacted, especially the secret ballot and workmen's compensation laws. The honeymoon was over, however, insofar as it concerned education and a lower statewide property tax, the latter having been one of Gardner's avowed aims which was not realized. By the time the 1929 legislature adjourned, having put off the eight-month school term, Daniels criticized that element in the General Assembly determined to stand fast on appropriations and revenues and backed by a lobby representing every industry fearing a tax increase. As he saw it, the 1928 election had frightened some of them and they, in turn, succeeded in frightening many revenue-conscious legislators with the threat of a Republican victory next time.²⁵

The eight-month school fight dominated the session as it dominated the pages of the *News and Observer*. The reform was embodied in a House bill introduced by A. D. MacLean, whose measure also appealed to Josephus Daniels, because it provided at first for a reduction

²² See Watson, "The Defeat of Judge Parker," 234.

²³ Minutes of the Board of Trustees, the Consolidated University of North Carolina, February 16, 1948, University Archives.

²⁴ Daniels to Gardner, November 22, December 31, 1928, Daniels Papers.

²⁵ *News and Observer*, March 19, 1929.

in ad valorem property taxes. Daniels saw no tax reform more necessary than easing the burden from the small farmers of a rural state and shifting it by means of luxury sales taxes and taxes on industry. At first the bill had the support of nobody but its sponsor and Josephus Daniels. Then the editor got the support of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dr. Arch T. Allen, whom he invited to press for the eight-month bill by writing a *News and Observer* article. In his invitation to Allen, Daniels took note: "The opponents of the eight months' school term are trying to use the negro issue as a red herring."²⁶ The industry lobbyists made the point that the majority of children to be benefited were Negroes, since most schools in the state already had an eight-month term and the underprivileged remainder lived mostly in the rural areas. When the Senate provided for a too-small public school equalization fund of \$6.5 million, Daniels editorialized that "The children's eight months right to schools was postponed to the pleadings of those able to pay taxes that they be excused."²⁷

The rear guard battle to resist the scuttling of the measure was made by Representative F. D. Winston after MacLean had given up. Daniels wrote Winston hopefully but realistically, "I hope you are going to win but the odds are terrible."²⁸ He was right. The resulting measure, although foreshadowing eventual state assumption of support of all public schools, did not provide the eight-month school term. Its doubling of the public school equalization fund in the last "prosperity" legislature would have comforted Daniels more if it had provided tax relief for the small farmers of the state. In a prosperous year the legislature had failed to reduce the thirty-cent ad valorem property tax. Throughout the session Daniels' *News and Observer* agitated for raising the needed revenue on a fifty-fifty basis from an equal statewide ad valorem tax (now widely unequal because property was long overvalued) and from commercial and industrial activities which, Daniels claimed, were not paying their fair share.

The stock market crash of 1929 acted merely as a punctuation mark in the story of North Carolina's deepening agricultural—and now total—depression. The state Democratic platform of 1930 recognized the need for substantial reduction of taxes on property and pledged the party to work for it. By the end of that year it was widely apparent that farms in the state could not be rented for enough to pay taxes on them, that industries were shutting down right and left. At that time delin-

²⁶ Daniels to Allen, January 30, 1929, Daniels Papers.

²⁷ *News and Observer*, March 13, 1929.

²⁸ Daniels to Winston, March 15, 1929, F. D. Winston Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

quent taxes on real property came to nearly \$7.5 million, and more than 150,000 parcels of property were advertised for tax sales.²⁹ Resisting the anxious calls for a special session of the legislature, Governor Gardner set up a series of tax and revenue investigations plus a complete study of state and county government by the Brookings Institution of Washington. Its year-end report recommended a sweeping centralization of state government functions (including a consolidated university), and elimination of unnecessary state offices and county units. Josephus Daniels quarreled with none of this but, as usual, got down to cases. Like presidential aspirant Franklin Roosevelt, he wanted reform and relief quickly lest the men in the streets take matters into their own hands; Daniels recognized the need to forestall a new populist revolt—or worse.³⁰ To Governor Gardner, with whom he was no longer so close, Daniels wrote a long letter suggesting three revenue principles to stress in approaching the new General Assembly: (1) revaluing and thus equalizing disparate property valuations throughout the state; (2) taxing foreign corporations doing business in the state; and (3) taxing the untaxed.³¹ Some of his spirit on this last-named point may be gained from his words to Senator Carter Glass: "The Duke Power Co. is charging high rates and making big money in North Carolina and poses as a religious organization [through the benefactions of the Duke Endowment tied to company profits]! Isn't that the limit?"³²

For the one hundred and forty days of the "Long Parliament" of 1931, the *News and Observer* unceasingly proclaimed, "Taxes on property must be reduced." The Governor agreed, but he and Daniels differed on procedure; he looked to retrenchment and Daniels sought new sources of revenue. Two proposals for the latter deeply divided the legislators, who fought so unceasingly that neither proposal was adopted that session—a general sales tax and a luxury sales tax. Daniels ranged himself against a general sales tax, regarding it as an indefensible imposition on the people least able to pay. He supported instead the Hinsdale bill, which proposed taxes on a list of enumerated items it designated luxuries, such as tobacco, playing cards, chewing gum, automobiles, and admission to commercial entertainment. Needless to say, additional items came under scrutiny and it was not long before the tobacco, power, and bottling interests joined in a bitter fight against any luxury tax. Daniels fought just as bitterly, because

²⁹ *Report of the Tax Commission, 1932*, cited in Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 60.

³⁰ Daniels to L. A. Bethune, November 25, 1930, Daniels Papers.

³¹ Daniels to Gardner, December 23, 1930, Daniels Papers.

³² Daniels to Glass, February 26, 1931, Daniels Papers.

the luxury tax was needed to implement the state's taking over, operating, and maintaining the public school system. One way or another this had to be, for many of the counties were now unable to support public education. In an attempt to defeat the interests Daniels, along with state Grange Master W. Kerr Scott, tried to rally the farm people and printed in the *News and Observer* a petition to be signed and sent to the legislators. The petition supported the school take-over in the MacLean Bill "for relieving the present crushing tax burden on the houses and farms of North Carolina. We call for the proper taxation of the most prosperous interests in the state in such a manner as to make them bear their fair and just share of taxation, supplemented by a luxury tax to insure the operation of the MacLean Law."³³

Hammering away at privilege, Daniels hit out repeatedly at the Duke Power Company. He tried mightily to dissociate it from Duke University, of which he was now—as of all educational institutions—a warm friend. (He and Mrs. Daniels often drove over to visit on the new West Durham campus.) For example, on April 22, 1931, he wrote an enthusiastic report from Duke University, "A Significant Advance and Novel Experiment," about the new Duke Hospital and School of Medicine. Yet in that same spring of 1931 he published one of his most trenchant editorials, "The Duke Threat." An official of the company had let it be known to the South Carolina legislature, then contemplating a power company tax, that such an enactment would cause the Duke Foundation to cut down its benefactions in the Palmetto State. In North Carolina a Durham legislator warned that a "recapture clause" sought in the General Assembly against power companies "would be taxing retired Methodist ministers and charity wards." In another editorial on April 2, "Blessing or Curse," Daniels put it most bluntly: "The Duke Foundation is a noble benefaction. If the Duke Power Company should be permitted to use its [The Duke Foundation's] good name to escape just taxation in the Carolinas it would be a curse. . . . The other power companies swing onto the coat-tails of this company, part of whose earnings go to the holiest purposes, and thereby escape just taxation and all are enabled to charge excessive prices for light and power." Lobbying in the 1931 legislature probably was the most frenzied in the state's history, and in those troubled times there was apparently more distrust of the legislators than usual. Before the "Long Parliament" came to a close, Josephus Daniels had received a great volume of laudatory mail. The disillusioned former state leader of the Ku Klux Klan of the twenties, Judge

³³ *News and Observer*, March 29, 1931.

Henry A. Grady, expressing a rural and populist outrage at the lobbies and their corrupting influence, suggested the announcement of A. D. McLean or of Josephus Daniels as candidate for governor.³⁴ The linking of the two names did not do Daniels full justice. Unlike A. D. MacLean, who had extensive commercial property, the editor could not be charged with a conflict of interest in seeking a lower ad valorem property tax.

The marathon legislative session of 1931 accomplished sweeping reform in the state.³⁵ North Carolina took over the county roads and schools, merged the three leading state educational institutions into the Consolidated University of North Carolina, and stabilized the credit of smaller governmental units through a Local Government Act. The revenue bill was a compromise that pleased nobody. Corporate income and franchise taxes were raised by \$2.25 million. These were somewhat offset by the reduction in local taxes made possible by state maintenance and operation of roads and schools. The compromise called for a fifteen-cent ad valorem tax for the schools, but this apparent halving of the property tax was a mirage effected through further postponement of a revaluation of property. In addition, the revenue bill provided for a known biennial deficit of some \$5 million. Josephus Daniels editorialized in his legislative review:

The deficit-breeding revenue measure was rushed through under the whip and spur of those who preferred to deal a staggering blow to education and to issue bonds for current expenses than to impose just taxation on millions of dollars worth of property untaxed or undertaxed or let the users of non-essentials bear a fair part of the burdens of government. . . . No such lobby has been seen in Raleigh since 1887 (and that was smaller and gave less display of extravagance) when it maintained an open bar for legislators in the Yarborough House.³⁶

In later years Daniels acknowledged Governor Gardner's constructive leadership, recalling of him: "He held the rudder true in progress in education, roads, and devised ways to carry on every state function in a day of distress and depression."³⁷ But the bitter political fights of those days probably helped stimulate Daniels' only known use of profanity. As reporter Ben Dixon MacNeill recalled it, Daniels would then say, at the mention of one of three Tar Heel politicians, "MacNeill, he is a son-of-a-bitch, net."³⁸

³⁴ Grady to Daniels, May 5, 1931, Daniels Papers.

³⁵ On the North Carolina legislature of 1931, see Puryear, *Democratic Party Disension*, 59-91; Gill interview. Gill represented Scotland County in the 1931 General Assembly.

³⁶ *News and Observer*, May 31, 1931.

³⁷ Daniels, "Life Begins at Seventy."

³⁸ MacNeill to Jonathan Daniels [June 30, 1950], in Jonathan Daniels Papers.

There was a great deal of discontent in the depression-stricken state, and there was apparently much grass roots support for Josephus Daniels for governor.³⁹ His collected papers bear witness to it. From Scotland County in the East came promise of widespread support because "Josephus Daniels . . . is not stuck up and understands poor folks. . . ." From Rutherford County in the West came a plea that Daniels as governor could defend the small taxpayers from "the domination of the public utilities and other big interests, in our political affairs. . . ."⁴⁰ Daniels had a long record of declining to offer for elected office, but he was now tempted more than at any time in his life. Delegations came to see him throughout the fall of 1931, and he was his usually cautious self with these admirers. There is no doubt that he put great reliance, as always, on the advice of his older brother Judge Frank A. Daniels, who openly disapproved and who begged him not to "weaken your influence and that of your paper which is to be left as an inheritance to your children."⁴¹ Nevertheless, the surprise withdrawal of one of the most promising gubernatorial hopefuls, Attorney General Dennis G. Brummitt, on November 2, 1931, put additional pressure on Daniels to make an announcement. So did the possible gubernatorial hopes of his own political ally, A. D. MacLean. But Daniels' serious injury in an automobile accident on January 13, 1932, turned the tide. A month later he made a formal withdrawal from the approaching contest, to the unanimous applause of his wife, "Miss Addie," and the other Danielses. He was in his seventieth year, and it was generally concluded that he was too old and battered for hard political service. Daniels would show *them*.

The automobile injury might have daunted the will to recover of an old man who was not morally certain, like Daniels, that 1932 was the year of destiny for Franklin D. Roosevelt. Daniels rode as a passenger—in fact he never learned to drive a car—in the automobile of a prominent Atlanta attorney when their car was sideswiped, forced down an embankment and into a tree. It occurred in an Atlanta suburb on the return from Mount Berry, Georgia, where Daniels had helped celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Berry Schools for underprivileged youngsters. "I'm just a scarred soldier," he murmured to friends during the long wait, in good spirits, to enter the X ray and operating rooms at St. Joseph's Infirmary. Actually his head was cut open, leav-

³⁹ See E. David Cronon, "Josephus Daniels as a Reluctant Candidate," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXIII (October, 1956), 458-465, hereinafter cited as Cronon, "Josephus Daniels."

⁴⁰ H. O. Covington to Daniels, undated [1931], and O. R. Coffield to Daniels, June 3, 1931, quoted in Cronon, "Josephus Daniels."

⁴¹ Judge Frank A. Daniels to Daniels, October 4, 1931, Daniels Papers.

ing that most vivid of several scars on his forehead; his left arm broken in several places between elbow and wrist, leaving the hand somewhat stiffened for life; and his left leg badly cut by glass.⁴² Upon release from the operating room, X-rayed and stitched up, the old warrior almost immediately dictated a letter to President Herbert Hoover on behalf of another try for a Supreme Court nomination for North Carolina's Chief Justice Walter P. Stacy.⁴³ The Commercial National Bank had failed with Daniels' savings, depressed business conditions threatened the very existence of the *News and Observer*, and the editor was now laid up in St. Joseph's Infirmary. At this juncture, January 18, 1932, his wartime friend Bernard Baruch voluntarily came forward with a providential loan of \$25,000—truly a fortune in those days.⁴⁴

"Miss Addie" hurried to her husband's bedside, she who was always his best restorative, where she mixed "love and tenderness and discipline in equal proportions," as Daniels wrote home to his sons.⁴⁵ Martha Berry, who was understandably distressed at Daniels' injury while in Atlanta to visit her school, came in with chicken and custard. One of the editor's first acts on returning to Raleigh for convalescence was to write Miss Berry, whose educational efforts he so admired and whose efforts at providing equal opportunity tallied so well with his own ideals:

... I am home again bringing back with me beautiful and lasting memories I spent at Mount Berry with you. Nothing, not even an automobile accident, can ever efface the happy memories and the inspiration of that day, and my admiration for the demonstration of the great things you have done there, the stimulus it has brought elsewhere, the log houses and the cathedral effects seen nowhere else, all topped with the scores and scores of bright faced youths who had entered the Door of Opportunity you had opened to them. And the beauty of the lovely girls cannot be effaced or the echoes of the beautiful songs. They are mine now and forever more truly than any material possession.⁴⁶

After some additional hesitation on the editor's part, the importunities of his family and friends now held sway—he decided not to compete for governor. On February 15, the *News and Observer* carried "A

⁴² Associated Press dispatch, *News and Observer*, January 14, 1932.

⁴³ Daniels to Hoover, January 16, 1932, Daniels Papers.

⁴⁴ On the amount of the loan, see letter from the office of Baruch to Daniels, April 29, 1936, Daniels Papers; the circumstances concerning the loan were described in a letter from Bernard M. Baruch to the author, September 25, 1962.

⁴⁵ Daniels to his sons, January 20, 1932, Bagley Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

⁴⁶ Daniels to Martha Berry, January 29, 1932, Bagley Family Papers.

Statement by the Editor," in which Daniels recognized that his support came because of program and not personal popularity, and that the program, which he restated at length, could get his more effective long-term support in the newspaper than in the executive mansion. Nevertheless, on the very day of the announcement, he opined to a supporter in Charlotte, "I have no doubt that I would have been nominated. . . ." ⁴⁷ And it was a conviction the editor held all his life. In the unpublished memoir composed shortly before his death, Daniels wrote of 1932 when "I was urged and tempted to become a candidate for Governor, when the nomination was assured." Also from the unpublished memoir, "'You are one North Carolinian,' said Governor O. Max Gardner, 'perhaps the only one, who can say that when the Governorship was practically in his grasp he "declined the crown."'" By now Gardner and Daniels, who liked one another personally, were congenial allies in the task of making Franklin D. Roosevelt President of the United States.

⁴⁷ Daniels to E. Randolph Preston, February 15, 1932, Daniels Papers.

INDIAN AGRICULTURE IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

BY G. MELVIN HERNDON*

Agriculture was a conspicuously essential part of Indian subsistence in southeastern North America. The natives were hunters, but they were also agriculturists. They lived in fixed habitations, tilled the soil, and subsisted as much, if not more, on their agricultural products than they did from those of the chase; scarcity of food in the winter, soil depletion, hostile Indian tribes, or white settlers forced the Indians to move about.

The early accounts contain numerous references to the "Indian fields" and villages. William Strachey mentioned Kecoughtan, Virginia, where a large concentration of Indians displayed great skill as husbandmen on land suitable for cultivation.¹ The German traveler, John Lederer, in 1670, found a group of Siouan Indians living near present Clarksville, Virginia, that put in an immense store of corn, and he observed that they always had a year's supply of provisions in reserve.² In 1775 James Adair wrote: "And their tradition says they did not live straggling in the American woods, as do the Arabians, and rambling Tartars; for they made houses with the branches and bark of trees for the summer-season; and warm mud-walls, mixt with soft dry grass, against the bleak winter."³ From the experience of the Indians the colonists learned how to live in Colonial America. The natives taught the white settlers how to clear the land, what seeds to plant, what soils to cultivate and how to plant and cultivate their crops. There is little doubt that the Indian contributed much to the survival of the early colonists and to American agriculture.

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¹ Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (eds.), *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612), by William Strachey, gent. (London: Hakluyt Society [Second Series, No. CIII], 1953), 67, hereinafter cited as Strachey, *Virginia Britania*.

² Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912), 154.

³ James Adair, *The History of the American Indians; Particularly Those Nations Adjoining to the Missis[s]ippi, East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina and Virginia . . .* (London: Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly in the Poultry [sic], 1775), 405, hereinafter cited as Adair, *History of the American Indians*.

The first task performed by the Indian farmer was that of clearing the land of trees and bushes. He usually selected the most fertile soil for cultivation, which was generally along river bottoms or near other bodies of water. The advantages for hunting and fishing probably had something to do with the selection of a site for planting, but no doubt the Indians understood the value of good soil. The method of clearing seems to have been the same from Virginia to Florida. Adair wrote that "In the first clearings of their plantations, they only bark the large timber, cut down the sapplings and underwood, and burn them in heaps; as the suckers shoot up, they chop them off close to the stump, of which they make fires to deaden the roots, till in time they decay."⁴ This process is almost identical with that described by Captain John Smith, Robert Beverley, John Lawson, and Alanson Skinner.⁵ Lawson noted that in North Carolina the best lands were not always used because of the size of the trees on them,⁶ while Henry Spelman affirmed a more robust treatment than Adair: "the[y] cutt doune the greate trees sum half a yard aboue the ground, and y^e smaller they burne at the roote pullinge a good part of barke from them to make them die. . . ."⁷

The Indians usually built their villages of varying sizes in the midst of these clearings.⁸ Smith says, "Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gardens, which are small plots of ground. Some 20 acres, some 40. some 100. some 200. some more, some lesse. In some places [there were] from 2 to 50 of those houses together, or but a little separated by groues of trees."⁹ According to Strachey, the village of Kecoughtan contained about 1,000 Indians, 300 houses, and 2,000 or 3,000 acres of cleared land suitable for planting.¹⁰

Among the Algonquins, located from Virginia to the Neuse River, each family had its own carefully cultivated garden. This garden was

⁴ Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 405-406.

⁵ Lyon Gardner Tyler (ed.), *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625*, unnumbered volume in J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), *Original Narratives of Early American History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons [19 volumes, 1906-1917], 1907), 95-96, hereinafter cited as Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*; Strachey, *Virginia Britania*, 79; Louis B. Wright (ed.), *The History and Present State of Virginia*, by Robert Beverley (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 143, hereinafter cited as Beverley, *Present State of Virginia*; Alanson Skinner, "Notes on the Florida Seminole," *American Anthropologist*, XV (January, 1913), 76.

⁶ Frances Latham Harriss (ed.), *Lawson's History of North Carolina* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1937), 84, hereinafter cited as Harriss, *Lawson's History*.

⁷ Henry Spelman, "Relation of Virginia," in Edward Arber (ed.), *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 2 volumes, 1910), I, cxi, hereinafter cited as Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*.

⁸ David Bushnell, Jr., *Native Village Sites East of the Mississippi* (Washington: Government Printing Office [Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 69], 1919), 32.

⁹ Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, I, 363.

¹⁰ Strachey, *Virginia Britania*, 67.



Village of Secoton, a watercolor by John White, showing on the right the three plantings of corn typical of Indian agricultural practices discussed in this article. The top field is described as "Their rype corne" and includes a small shelter on a raised platform for use by "watchers," whose duty it was to keep the birds from injuring the corn. The second field is labeled "Their greene corne," and the third, "Corne newly sprong." Faint indications of hills can be distinguished in the bottom field. This illustration is from *The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590*, edited by Hulton and Quinn.

commonly a small plot of ground 100 by 200 feet, and it furnished food until the large fields could be harvested. The large fields which supplied most of the food for the entire population lay on the outskirts of the village. Little houses or shelters raised upon platforms were built in the fields and were occupied by watchers, usually women or children, whose duty it was to keep the birds from injuring the crops.¹¹ This practice was also customary among the ancient Tumucua tribes in northern Florida.¹²

Lands belonging to the Indian tribes were divided into communities or petty provinces, each governed by its local chief, who was usually subject to a higher chief. To the greater chieftains the people paid tribute of corn, wild beasts, deer, and other gifts. The gardens of the principal chiefs among the Algonquins were cared for by the people, who met by appointment to plant and later harvest the crops. The Creeks paid their chiefs tribute by contributing a portion of their own harvest to the king's granary, which was a public treasury to which every member had a right of free and equal access when his own private stores were consumed. It served also as a surplus to accommodate travelers, to assist neighboring villagers whose crops had failed, and to afford provisions for expeditions against hostile tribes.¹³ There was no fixed rule as to the size of a garden or cornfield an individual or family might plant. Each member of the village could clear as much land to cultivate as he pleased, and as long as it was cultivated his right to it was protected; if abandoned, anyone might acquire the right to use it. According to the custom or law, the land belonged to the tribe and no person could acquire an absolute title to any part of it.¹⁴

Tillage as practiced by the Indian differed from that practiced by the European. The field crops grown in England at the time of the discovery of America were largely broadcast seeded. Virtually every crop grown by the Indian was planted in rows and each stalk or plant hoed to keep down the weeds—one of several examples illustrat-

¹¹ Charles C. Willoughby, "The Virginia Indians in the Seventeenth Century," *American Anthropologist*, IX (January, 1907), 82-83, hereinafter cited as Willoughby, "Virginia Indians."

¹² John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington: Government Printing Office [*Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 73], 1922), 360.

¹³ G. K. Holmes, "Aboriginal Agriculture—The American Indian," in L. H. Bailey (ed.), *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture* (New York: Macmillan Company, 4 volumes [Second Edition], 1910), IV, 33, hereinafter cited as Holmes, "Aboriginal Agriculture."

¹⁴ Lucien Carr, "The Food of Certain American Indians and Their Methods of Preparing It," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, X (April 1, 1895), 163, hereinafter cited as Carr, "Food of Certain American Indians"; Willoughby, "Virginia Indians," 57.

ing that American farm practices were influenced by Indian agriculture. Intertillage of such crops as tobacco, corn, and beans had been commonly practiced in America by the white man more than one hundred years before Jethro Tull wrote his *Horse Hoeing Husbandry* (1733) and had been in use by the Indians for centuries. In their common method of hill planting, the soil in the intervening spaces was not broken. The hills were from twelve to twenty inches in diameter and about three feet apart, and the soil in these hills was all that was stirred or loosened. As the tobacco plant or corn stalk grew, loose dirt was scraped around it thus keeping down the weeds and grass. Hilling may have been practiced for a more important reason, to prevent the plants from falling over during high winds and wet weather. Hilling promoted the production of buttress or bracer roots on the lower part of the stem in both corn and tobacco. The same thing cannot be accomplished by deep planting. Certain peculiarities about the structure and development of both of the above plants cause the main part of the root system to develop near the surface of the soil regardless of the depth of planting.¹⁵ The hills were used over and over in successive seasons and became quite sizable mounds of earth. The early colonists followed the Indian method of seeding but often neglected the weeding and were frequently subjected to ridicule for their shiftlessness by the painstaking Indian squaws.

Later, in using animal labor for cultivation the colonists found it more feasible to kill the weeds and grass by breaking and stirring the intervening ground, and more modern methods of cultivation subsequently evolved. Thus the colonists provided the chief requisite for soil erosion by stirring the soil over the entire field. As long as an unbroken sod was retained between each hill, there was little danger of any significant amount of erosion. For this reason it appears that the Indians were able to grow corn on the same field longer than the white settlers. Recent tests have proven that row crops are not benefited by frequent cultivation if the weeds are kept out by other means, another instance where modern agriculturists have discovered that many of the farming practices of the Indians were based on sound principles.

The Indians practiced a rotation of fields rather than a rotation of crops. A field was "cropped" until it no longer produced profitable yields, then it was abandoned and new land cleared. The colonists followed the Indian example, as clearing new land was more feasible than fertilizing the old. Several years later the abandoned fields were

¹⁵ Paul Weatherwax, *Indian Corn in Old America* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1954), 70, hereinafter cited as Weatherwax, *Indian Corn*.

frequently taken over by someone else or returned to cultivation by the original holder. So added to the several other Indian agricultural practices adopted by the white settlers was that of restoring fertility by resting land.¹⁶

The Indians could scarcely have avoided the beneficial effects of decaying organic matter on plant growth, yet, outside of New England, they appear to have made little or no use of any kind of manures. Smith wrote: "In *Virginia* they never manure their outworne fields, which is very few, the ground for the most part is so fertile: but in *New-England* they doe, sticking at every plant of corne a herring or two. . . ." ¹⁷ On Roanoke Island Hariot observed:

The ground they neuer fatten with mucke, dounge or any other thing; neither plow nor digge it as we in England, . . . [they] doe onely breake the vpper part of the ground to rayse vp the weedes, grasse, & old stubbes of corne stalkes with their rootes. The[se] which after a day or twoes drying in the Sunne, being scrapte vp into many small heapes, to saue them labour for carrying them away; they burne into ashes. (And whereas some may thinke that they vse the ashes for to better the grounde; I say that then they woulde eyther disperse the ashes abroad; which wee obserued they do not, except the heapes to be too great: or els would take speciall care to set their corne where the ashes lie, which also wee finde they are careless of.) And this is all the husbanding of their ground that they vse.¹⁸

Again the colonists copied the Indian, even after the introduction of a considerable number of livestock, which the Indian did not possess. The colonist failed to fertilize his crops for the same reasons as the Indian: scarcity of manures, the amount of labor required, and, most importantly, the abundance of fertile land.

According to contemporary accounts, one of the most common characteristics of Indian agriculture was that the planting and cultivation was done largely by the women, though the amount contributed by the male varied somewhat in different areas. In preparing a field for cultivation, the first task was to clear it; this portion of the work belonged to the men. They girdled and killed the trees, burned the brush and dead wood, and then handed the field over to the squaws who broke up the ground for the making of hills, using hoes made of wood, bone, stone, or shell.¹⁹ Smith related:

¹⁶ It might be noted here that agriculturists now insist that resting land does not restore fertility; however, this was a common belief until the twentieth century.

¹⁷ Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, II, 952.

¹⁸ Thomas Hariot, *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (New York: History Book Club, Inc., 1951), unnumbered 17-18, hereinafter cited as Hariot, *A Brief and True Report*.

¹⁹ Carr, "Food of Certain American Indians," 164.



Jacques le Moyne, an artist who accompanied René de Laudonnière's expedition to Florida in 1564, gave this description of the agricultural practices of the natives: "The Indians till the soil very diligently, using a kind of hoe made from fish bone fitted to wooden handles. Since the soil is very light, these serve well enough to cultivate it. After the ground has been well broken up and leveled, the planting is done by the women, some making holes with sticks, into which the others drop the seeds of beans or maize." Above is a Theodore de Bry engraving of a Le Moyne watercolor. The women wear skirts made of Spanish moss. From *The New World*, edited and annotated by Stefan Lorant (New York: Duell, Sloane & Pearce, 1946).

The men bestowe their times in fishing, hunting, wars and such manlike exercises, scorning to be seene in any woman like exercise; which is the cause that the women be verie painefull and the men often idle. The women and children do the rest of the worke. They make mats, baskets, pots, morters; pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, and gather their corne, beare al kind of burdens, and such like.²⁰

According to Hariot, the men also helped prepare the ground for seeding:

... a fewe daies before they sowe or set, the men with wooden instruments, made almost in [the] forme of mattocks or hoes with long handles; the women with short peckers or parers, because they vse them sitting, of a

²⁰ Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, I, 67.

foote long and about five inches in breadth: doe onely breake the vpper part of the ground. . . .²¹

It has been said that in North Carolina the women never planted the corn, and that among the Tunicas of the lower Mississippi valley all of the work was done by the men.²² Some confusion on this point may have been due to the fact that in addition to the communal field there were small garden areas about most Indian villages which were maintained entirely by the women.

The Indians carried on their work much in the manner of the husking, quilting, and other "work frolics" that became common among the colonists.²³ The people of each village worked together in common fields, though the allotments of the different households were separated by a narrow strip of grass, poles, or some other suitable natural or artificial boundary. Among the Creeks, care of the fields was under the charge of an overseer, said to be elected: "He called the men to the square by going through the village blowing upon a conch shell or uttering a loud cry. Immediately they gathered with hoes and axes, and then marched in order to the field as if they were going into battle, headed by their overseer. The women followed in detached parties bearing the provisions for the day."²⁴ As a general rule the planting season for the out-fields began when the wild fruit had ripened, so as to draw off the birds and prevent them from picking up the grain.²⁵ The small garden plots in or near the village were planted earlier and provided the first harvest.

Work began at one end of the common field, in a plot of ground chosen by lot, and when the task on that one was completed, they moved to the next adjoining one, and so on until the entire field was planted.²⁶ Sometimes one of their orators cheered the workers on with jests and humorous old tales and sang some of their most agreeable tunes while beating a drum. At the end of a workday, all of the workers were usually feasted by the families for whom they had worked on that particular day.²⁷ Work usually ceased around noon for the

²¹ Hariot, *A Brief and True Report*, unnumbered 17.

²² John R. Swanton, *Aboriginal Culture of the Southeast* (Washington: Government Printing Office [*Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*], 1928), 691, hereinafter cited as Swanton, *Aboriginal Culture*.

²³ Carr, "Food of Certain American Indians," 162.

²⁴ John R. Swanton, *Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy* (Washington: Government Printing Office [*Forty-second Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*], 1928), 443.

²⁵ Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 406.

²⁶ Mark Van Doren (ed.), *The Travels of William Bartram* (New York: Dover Publications, 1928), 401.

²⁷ Carr, "Food of Certain American Indians," 163.

day, and after the feast the afternoon was devoted to a ball game and the evening to dancing.²⁸

The following is one of the better accounts of their manner of planting corn:

. . . beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines with that care they touch not one another, (about an inch asunder) and couer them with the moulde againe: and so through out the whole plot, making such holes and vsing them after such maner [*sic*]: but with this regard that they bee made in rankes, euery ranke differing from [the] other [by] halfe a fadome or a yarde, and the holes also in euery ranke, as much. By this meanes there is a yarde spare ground betwene euery hole: where according to discretion here and there, they set as many Beanes and Peaze: in diuers places also among the seedes of Macócqwer [squash and pumpkin] Melden [an herb] and Planta Solis [sunflower].²⁹

Corn was grown over a larger area of North America than any other domesticated plant and is certainly one of the oldest in America. It was the main dependence of all tribes south of the St. Lawrence River and east of the Mississippi.³⁰

The Indians grew three or four varieties of corn. Hariot mentioned three types, two of which grew to be 6 or 7 feet tall, and ripened in 11 or 12 weeks after planting; the third grew to a height of about 10 feet and ripened in 14 weeks. Each stalk might have from 1 to 4 ears on it, with some 500 to 700 grains on each ear. The grains were about the size of an English pea and might be of several colors, white, red, yellow, or blue.³¹ Near Jamestown Smith observed: "Every stalke of their corn commonly beareth two eares, some 3, seldome any 4, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines."³² They began planting in April, but the chief plantings came during May and continued until the middle of June. What was planted in April was harvested in August, that planted in May was harvested in September, and that planted in June was harvested in October. Perhaps the best description of Indian corn was given by Beverley in 1705:

There are Four Sorts of *Indian Corn*, Two of which are early ripe, and two late ripe. . . .

The Two Sorts which are early ripe, are distinguish'd only by the Size, which shows it self as well in the Grain, as in the Ear, and the Stalk. There is some Difference also in the Time of ripening.

²⁸ Swanton, *Aboriginal Culture*, 691.

²⁹ Hariot, *A Brief and True Report*, unnumbered 18.

³⁰ Carr, "Food of Certain American Indians," 159.

³¹ Hariot, *A Brief and True Report*, unnumbered 15.

³² Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, I, 62.

The lesser Size of Early ripe Corn, yields an Ear not much larger than the Handle of a Case Knife, and grows upon a Stalk between Three and Four Foot high. Of this are commonly made Two Crops in a year. . . .

The larger Sort differs from the former only in Largeness, the Ear of this being Seven or Eight Inches long, as thick as a Child's Leg and growing upon a Stalk Nine or Ten Foot high. This is fit for eating about the latter End of *May*, whereas the small Sort (generally speaking) affords Ears fit to roast by the Middle of *May*. The Grains of both these Sorts, are as plump and swell'd as if the Skin werè ready to burst.

The late ripe Corn is diversify'd by the Shape of the Grain only, without any Respect to the accidental Differences in Colour, some being blue, some red, some yellow, some white, and some streak'd. That therefore which makes the Distinction, is the Plumpness or Shrivelling of the Grain; the one looks as smooth and as full as the early ripe Corn, and this they call *Flint-Corn*; the other has a larger Grain, and looks shrivell'd with a Dent on the Back of the Grain, as if it had never come to perfection; and this they call *She-Corn*. . . .³³

According to one scholar, "It may even be said that in four and a quarter centuries during which the white race has been growing maize almost nothing has been produced that can not be duplicated among the cultures of the aborigines. The most highly developed varieties of flint, flour, pop, and sweet types are little if any superior to individual types in native cultures, the chief advance having been toward uniformity."³⁴

There were no conspicuous differences in the manner in which corn was harvested and stored. Among the Algonquins the women gathered the corn, each family receiving only what was grown on its own plot. The corn was picked and placed in hand baskets, emptied into larger baskets as each was filled, and later placed on mats to dry. When sufficiently dry, the corn was next placed in the house in piles and shelled by "wringinge the ears in pieces between their hands." The shelled corn was then placed in a great storage basket which took up a large part of the house. Late corn that had to be harvested while still green was frequently roasted and buried in the ground.³⁵ The corn might be stored in a crib raised on eight posts about seven feet above the ground³⁶ and curing hastened by fires built underneath. Thus the granary, public or private, might be a portion of the wigwam, a hole in the ground, or a storehouse raised above the ground.

The husks of an ear of Indian corn were thick, tough and coarse,

³³ Beverley, *Present State of Virginia*, 143-144.

³⁴ Guy N. Collins, "Notes on the Agricultural History of Maize," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1919* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 2 volumes and a supplement, 1923), I, 423.

³⁵ Holmes, "Aboriginal Agriculture," 30.

³⁶ Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 12.



According to Le Moyne, the Indians stored the surplus from their harvests "in low and roomy granaries, built of stone and earth and thickly roofed with palm branches and a kind of soft earth. To keep the contents better, the granaries are usually erected near a mountain or in the shade of a river bank, so as to be sheltered from the direct rays of the sun." Above is an engraving by De Bry based on a Le Moyne drawing. From *The New World*, edited and annotated by Stefan Lorant.

fitted snugly, and extended well beyond the ear. To loosen and remove them was not an easy task and reached imposing proportions when multiplied by the number of ears to be husked. To ameliorate this task the Indians of eastern North America invented the homely husking peg, which the white man adopted. In its primitive form it was essentially a smooth, round rod of bone or hard wood about half an inch in diameter and three or four inches long. One end tapered down to a blunt point, and a shallow groove or two around it near the middle held a loop of cord or leather, through which one or two fingers were inserted to hold the tool on the hand. The blunt point of the peg was inserted into the snugly fitting husks at the tapered end of the ear, and by applying pressure on the husks held between the peg and the thumb of the hand holding the peg, the husks were peeled back and snapped off at the opposite end of the ear, thus freeing the ear from its husks.³⁷

³⁷ Weatherwax, *Indian Corn*, 78-79.

As to yields, one account reported 364 bushels of corn as the product of 13 gallons of seed;³⁸ another in terms of English measure—200 London bushels of a mixed crop of corn, beans, and peas from an English acre;³⁹ and a third estimated an average yield as 40 bushels per acre.⁴⁰ Corn, beans, and squash were frequently planted in the same field, another practice adopted by the colonists. The Indians domesticated several kinds of beans: the common bean, often referred to as the kidney or Indian bean; the lima bean; and the scarlet-runner bean. All three types were grown in the southern colonies. The early writers on the American crops frequently employed the phrase “beanes and pease.” Just what was meant by the term “pease” is difficult to determine. It may have been used to indicate more than one specie of bean; at times it seems to have been used to mean a small bean.⁴¹ Hariot speaks of two kinds of native beans, called by the English beans and peas respectively, though the latter seems to have been quite different from European peas.

Okindgier, called by vs Beanes, because in greatnesse & partly in shape they are like to the Beanes in England; sauving that they are flatter, of more diuers colours, and some pide [piebald]. The leafe also of the stemme is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peaze.

Wickonzowr, called by vs Peaze, in respect of the beanes for distinctiō sake, because they are much lesse; although in forme they little differ; but in goodnesse of tast much, & are far better than our English peaze. Both the beanes and the peaze are ripe in tenne weekes after they are set.⁴²

Smith mentioned another type of pea which the Indians called “*Assen-tamens*, which are the same as they cal in Italye, *Fagioli*. . . .”⁴³ Beverly wrote: “They have an unknown Variety of them, (but all of a Kidney-Shape) some of which I have met with wild. . . .”⁴⁴ These wild peas may have been the marsh pea.⁴⁵

There is also some uncertainty as to the various kinds of creeping vines cultivated by the Indians. Many of the creeper plants the white

³⁸ Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, II, 952. Smith was somewhat skeptical of this report: “All things they plant prosper exceedingly: but one man of 13. gallons of Indian corne, reaped that yeare 364. bushels London measure, as they confidently report, at which I much wonder, having planted many bushels, but no such increase. . . .”

³⁹ Hariot, *A Brief and True Report*, unnumbered 18.

⁴⁰ Holmes, “Aboriginal Agriculture,” 31.

⁴¹ Beverley, *History of Virginia*, 144.

⁴² Hariot, *A Brief and True Report*, unnumbered 16.

⁴³ Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, I, 62.

⁴⁴ Beverley, *History of Virginia*, 144.

⁴⁵ John R. Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office [*Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 137*], 1946), 269, hereinafter cited as Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*.

explorers had never seen, and those were named for the European plants which they most resembled. The evidence seems quite clear, however, that several kinds of squash and the ordinary field pumpkin were common food crops of the Indians. One observer described these plants as follows:

Macócquer, according to their seuerall formes called by vs *Pompions*, *Mellions*, and *Gourdes*, because they are the like formes as those kindes in England. In *Virginia* such of seuerall formes are of one taste and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are two sorts; one is ripe in the space of a moneth [*sic*], and the other in two moueths [*sic*].”⁴⁶

Beverley gave a more detailed description of the several kinds of creeping vines in Virginia. He mentioned muskmelons; several kinds of watermelons, red, yellow, and white meated, and some with yellow, red, and black seeds; pumpkins; two kinds of squash called ecushaws and macocks; and gourds, which the Indians never ate, but planted for other uses, such as use of dried shells for containers.⁴⁷

There is a belief that muskmelons and watermelons were introduced to the Indians by the Europeans.⁴⁸ Captain John Smith made no mention of them in his descriptions of Virginia published in 1612, but in 1621 he reported that

A small ship comming in December last from the Summer-Ilands, to Virginia, brought thither from thence these Plants, viz. Vines of all sorts, Orange and Leman trees, Sugar Canes, Cassado Roots (that make bread) Pines, Plantans, Potatoes, and sundry other Indian fruits and plants, not formerly seen in Virginia, which begin to prosper very well.⁴⁹

Melons appear several times in the accounts of the various Raleigh expeditions. Hariot mentioned melons and Captain John White in 1587 wrote of seeing melons of “divers sorts.” While these sixteenth-century American melons may have been squash or pumpkins, there is nothing in the statements which would exclude watermelons. There is good presumptive evidence that the melons which were served raw might have been watermelons.

There is some controversy as to whether the sweet potato is of American or Asian origin. It is generally conceded that America was its original home. According to L. C. Gray, “sweet potatoes were in

⁴⁶ Hariot, *A Brief and True Report*, unnumbered 16.

⁴⁷ Beverley, *History of Virginia*, 142.

⁴⁸ Willoughby, “Virginia Indians,” 84.

⁴⁹ Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons [20 volumes, 1905-1907], 1906), XIX, 147, hereinafter cited as Purchas, *Pilgrimes*.

common use in the West Indies when the Spaniards discovered these islands. We have no account of their employment by the Virginia Indians at the time Jamestown was settled but they were cultivated by the Indians of northern Florida and eastern South Carolina."⁵⁰ Various roots, such as tuckahoe or wampee or koonti, used by the Indians were identified as potatoes by early explorers and settlers. Strachey says that potatoes had been given a trial in his time (1610-1612).⁵¹ Smith mentioned white, red, and yellow potatoes among the products brought by the English from Bermuda in 1620.⁵²

It is the opinion of Gray that "Tomatoes, Jerusalem artichokes, garden peppers, and sunflowers were among the less important contributions of the New World to agriculture."⁵³

Tobacco was firmly established throughout the eastern and southern United States at the time of discovery. In the Southeast it is mentioned first in Jacques le Moyne's narrative of the Huguenot colony in Florida. In 1584 Arthur Barlowe noted tobacco growing along with corn in the fields of the Algonquin Indians of North Carolina.⁵⁴ In 1607 George Percy was shown a "Garden of Tobacco" by a Powhatan Indian.⁵⁵ Strachey offers the fullest account of Indian tobacco in Virginia:

There is here great store of Tobacco, which the Saluages call *Apooke*; howbeyt yt is not the best kynd, yt is but poore and weake, and of a byting tast, yt growes not fully a yard aboue the grownd, bearing a little yellow flower, like a henn-bane, the leaves are short and thick, somewhat rownd at the vpper end: . . . the Saluages here dry the leaves of this Apooke over the fier, and sometymes in the Sun, and Crumble yt into Powder, Stalks, leaves, and all, taking the same in Pipes of Earth which very ingeniously they can make. . . .⁵⁶

At the end of the seventeenth century Beverley wrote:

How the *Indians* order'd their Tobacco, I am not certain, they now depending chiefly upon the *English*, for what they smoak: But I am inform'd, they used to let it all run to Seed, only succouring the Leaves, to keep the Sprouts from growing upon, and starving them; and when it was ripe, they pull'd off the Leaves, cured them in the Sun, and laid them up for Use. . . .⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 2 volumes, 1933), I, 4, hereinafter cited as Gray, *History of Agriculture*.

⁵¹ Strachey, *Virginia Britannia*, 38.

⁵² Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, XIX, 147.

⁵³ Gray, *History of Agriculture*, I, 5.

⁵⁴ Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 382.

⁵⁵ Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, 16.

⁵⁶ Strachey, *Virginia Britannia*, 122-123.

⁵⁷ Beverley, *History of Virginia*, 145.

The native tobacco, *Nicotiana rustica*, was inferior to *Nicotiana tabacum* introduced into Virginia by John Rolfe from the West Indies; and, as Beverley noted, by the end of the seventeenth century the Indians of Virginia were depending mainly upon the English for their ordinary smoking tobacco. The colonists soon found the native Indian tobacco unsatisfactory to their taste and imported a new variety that truly became the "golden weed" for several of the colonies; but it must be remembered that it was the Indian who taught the colonists how to grow it.

Of all the hay and pasture plants of importance east of the Mississippi, there is scarcely one which was not introduced by the colonists. Many early explorers wrote of "goodly meadows," not knowing that the salt marsh grasses they saw growing along the coast were very inferior for forage. Had the Indian of the Southeast possessed horses and cattle before the coming of the white men, perhaps he might have developed an excellent hay crop from the wild rye that was found growing from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico,⁵⁸ or from the several varieties of peas and beans.

If the natives of southeastern North America had been ignorant of agriculture, the colonization of America would probably have been delayed, for without aid from the Indians the planting of Jamestown might have failed. It was largely through the knowledge of agriculture learned from the Indians that the colony was enabled to survive the first few years. Perhaps the next greatest contribution of the Indians was the clearing of land for crops which the whites sooner or later took over, by force or other means. This speeded up the colonization by a considerable degree, for it would have taken generations for a small handful of colonists to clear enough land for survival. It has been said that the Valley of Virginia and sections of the Carolina Piedmont were without trees when the Europeans first came. Those sections and the areas used by the Indians for farming were practically the only breaks in the forests.

In some instances Indian agriculture was further advanced than that of the Old World. The colonists learned many valuable lessons in New World agriculture from the natives and several of their principles and practices have been proven sound by American agriculturists.

⁵⁸ Gray, *History of Agriculture*, I, 4-5.

BOOK REVIEWS

For History's Sake: The Preservation and Publication of North Carolina History, 1663-1903. By H. G. Jones. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. Preface, introduction, illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xvi, 319. \$7.50.)

This thoroughly researched, well-organized, clearly written, and highly readable volume tells the story of the public records of North Carolina from the issuance of the 1663 Charter to 1903, when the state established the North Carolina Historical Commission (now the State Department of Archives and History). Dr. Jones, who has been State Archivist since 1956—and an extremely competent one—discusses in depth the creation, preservation, destruction, use, and publication of public records for a period of two and a half centuries. By painstaking use of the original records about which he is writing, he has been able to confirm many—though not all—of the traditions relating to the neglect of North Carolina's public records.

The author begins with an introductory statement defining "records" and emphasizing the fact that "records" become "archives" only when they are so designated by an appropriate authority. Part One of the volume has four chapters dealing with "The Public Archives, 1663-1903." In Chapters I and II: "Record Keeping in Proprietary Carolina, 1663-1728," and "Record Keeping in the Royal Period, 1729-1776," Dr. Jones shows that some government officials realized the importance of public records for administrative, legal, and historical purposes, "and many modern concepts of the care of official records are grounded in laws and traditions of the Colonial period."

In Chapters III and IV: "War and Its Aftermath: Dislocation and Settlement, 1774-1794," and "The Vicissitudes of the Records, 1794-1903," the author discusses the laws governing the records; the repeated moving of records due to changing the seat of government or because of threats brought on by war, such as the hitherto unknown story of the movement of the state records across the mountains to escape the British army in 1781, and the well-known story of the evacuation of the records from Raleigh as General Sherman approached that city in 1865; the conditions of buildings housing the

records and the calamities that befell them, such as the burning of the Capitol in 1831; the care or neglect with which custodians tended the records, and the efforts of individuals who sought to provide greater security for the records. Chapter IV, one of the best in the book, has four logical subdivisions: "The State Records in Raleigh, 1794-1861" (from the building of the Capitol to the state's secession); "The Records and the War, 1861-1888" (it was not until the latter date that the federal government delivered North Carolina records in its possession to the state); "The Records in the Postwar Period, 1865-1903"; and "The Records of Counties and Municipalities, 1794-1903." The author is to be congratulated for his wisdom in discussing these significant though frequently overlooked records.

Part Two, which will probably have the widest appeal to historians, is divided into three chapters and deals with the "Collection and Publication of the Records, 1843-1868," by George Chalmers, Hugh Williamson, François Xavier Martin, Archibald D. Murphey, Joseph Seawell ("Shocco") Jones; John H. Wheeler, David L. Swain, and Francis Lister Hawks; and with William L. Saunders and *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (1879-1891), and Walter Clark and *The State Records of North Carolina* (1893-1907).

Part Three, "Caretakers for Clio, 1833-1907," is an extremely interesting account of the foundation of "Six Early Historical Societies, 1833-1887," with special emphasis on the North Carolina Historical Society; "The Dispersal of the Swain Collection, 1880-1930"; and "The Establishment of a State Archival-Historical Agency, 1893-1907."

The book also contains a selected bibliography and a thorough index. Ten excellent illustrations, six of which are portraits (Williamson, Murphey, Swain, Wheeler, Saunders, and Clark), add to the attractiveness of the volume. The endpaper, a "View of Raleigh, 1872," will be of interest to many of the book's readers. Dr. Jones has rendered a great service to the archival profession and also to state and local historians.

Hugh T. Lefler

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Old Salem in Pictures. Photography by Bruce Roberts. Text by Frances Griffin. (Charlotte: McNally and Loftin, 1966. Foreword, illustrations. Pp. 64. \$3.95.)

James A. Gray's foreword to this charming black and white picture book says that it is intended "to recreate the mystique that was, and

is, Old Salem." Veteran photographer Bruce Roberts' eighty-six superb pictures (eighty-seven, counting the cover) are skillfully interwoven with eight and one-half pages of excellent text and exceptionally generous captions by Salem publicist Frances Griffin to give the reader the illusion that he is actually seeing daily life in the eighteenth-century Moravian community—not in the twentieth-century restored town.

No modern utility lines or motor cars are visible; the faces of men, women, and children are carefully chosen (and all are worth study); costumes are not too spick and span (loose threads and wrinkles show here and there); leaves drift across the diagonal brick walk in Salem Square—in short, it *is* Old Salem.

Altogether, sixteen restored structures are shown, and architectural historians will enjoy studying the thousand and one structural details that are visible. Nine craftsmen are shown at their tasks, and both pictures and text emphasize the Moravians' painstaking regard for highest quality. Every bit as fascinating are the photographs of daily routine—the tavernkeeper welcoming his guests by lantern light to historic Salem Tavern, the watchman blowing his conch shell, an intent boy doing sums on a huge abacus.

The fourth and closing section of the book, "The Spirit of Salem," focuses on "the simple day-to-day religion that was the heartbeat of early Salem [and] has remained unaltered through these two centuries"—the great Easter sunrise service in God's Acre, the Christmas Eve lovefeast by candlelight, and always music, trumpet, trombone, organ, and flute, for every occasion of faith and fellowship.

A simple black and white map of Old Salem—useful and highly decorative—serves as endpapers for this attractive first picture book from restored Salem.

Copies of the book may be ordered from the publisher.

Mary Claire Engstrom

Hillsborough

38th Evac: The Story of the Men and Women Who Served in World War II with the 38th Evacuation Hospital in North Africa and Italy. By LeGette Blythe. (Charlotte: Heritage Printers, 1966. Foreword, calendar, illustrations, rosters, index. Pp. 261. \$15.00.)

Beginning with a lawn party in Charlotte on October 12, 1940, the author narrates the history of the 38th Evacuation Hospital from its

organization and training, through its service in North Africa and Italy, to its dissolution in Florence on July 3, 1945. Although some of its original personnel came from other states, the nucleus of the unit was the Charlotte Memorial Hospital staff, a fact which explains the author's interest in the subject. Quoting copiously from letters, orders of the day, newspaper accounts, and reminiscences, Mr. Blythe recounts in full every incident he could unearth about the men, women, and patients of the hospital unit. Sometimes the events are humorous, as that of the cook upsetting the dignity of a staid colonel; sometimes dramatic, as often occurred in the surgical tents during a heavy offensive; frequently pathetic when describing the war-torn towns; often sad when recounting the deaths of friends. The unit served during such famous battles as those of Oran, Anzio Beachhead, and Montecatini, seeing duty continuously from November, 1942, to the end of the European combat. Around it all, Mr. Blythe has managed to create an atmosphere of heroism, of a difficult job done well in a casual American way, with praise from the famous war correspondent Ernie Pyle, and citations from commanding generals. A large number of snapshots, drawings of encampments, and a few magnificent studies by Margaret Bourke-White are reprinted.

The researcher will question the lack of information as to the location of the letters and diaries cited. The reader will find the double-columned pages and the heavy book awkward to manage. The chief appeal will be to the personnel of the unit, who can here relive five years of their lives in minute detail. Barring the deposit of the quoted primary sources in an archives, however, the book will remain a full, well-indexed assemblage of the raw materials from which history will later be written.

Copies of the book may be purchased at the Charlotte Bookshop.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon

Meredith College

Tar Heels Track the Century. By Pocahontas Wight Edmunds. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company, 1966. Introduction, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. viii, 355. \$8.95.)

The author, a Virginia writer, has painted charming pen portraits of ten North Carolinians who have made an imprint on the national arena since the Civil War. She begins and ends with voluntary expatriates: Andrew Johnson, "the only unschooled and only challenged

president," and Thomas Clayton Wolfe, "mountaineer in literature," and sandwiches in two others of this ilk: O. Henry (William Sydney Porter), "a tale teller of one city," and Walter Hines Page, "the intent editor and ambassador." The other six, with the possible exception of James Buchanan Duke, "the tycoon undertaking a university," were almost professional North Carolinians, fiercely loyal to the end: Zebulon Baird Vance, "state's man and statesman"; Matt Whitaker Ransom, "courtly general and senator"; Charles Brantley Aycock, "the nation's educational governor"; Furnifold McLendel Simmons, "master of politics"; and Josephus Daniels, "spokesman in three capitals."

The parade of Tar Heels (which she does not capitalize) who tracked the last century thus consists of a United States president, two governors (one a senator also), three senators (one an ambassador to Mexico also), two editors (one an ambassador to Mexico and Secretary of the Navy and one an ambassador to the Court of St. James also), a short story writer, and a novelist.

All save one—the cavalier Ransom—have had at least one full-length biography. Therefore, with this exception, the author has thrown little new light on her subjects and her research did not delve into any primary sources, except conversations with a few people closely connected with her subjects. Yet she has painted with roseate and sometimes flamboyant hues, delightful, impressionistic, off-beat sketches of those whom she chooses to include in her hall of fame. Perhaps the one most to be queried is the Tennessean Johnson. And perhaps his place might have been taken by the Pulitzer prize-winning playwright, novelist, and humanitarian, Paul Green; or the "good roads" governor, architect of university consolidation, and appointee to the Court of St. James, O. Max Gardner; or the university president, senator, and United Nations' mediator, Frank Porter Graham.

For readers interested in a once-over-lightly treatment of these ten Tar Heels, here is the book.

Blackwell P. Robinson

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

North Carolina Picadillo. By J. K. Rouse. (Salisbury: Rowan Business Forms, Inc., 1966. Illustrations, index, appendix. Pp. 112. \$5.95.)

This slender volume of high-gloss, letter-size pages is not just a picadillo but a loosely organized collection of picadillos—tender tidbits and pleasing morsels gathered from the fruitful field of local history in a tier of North Carolina's central Piedmont counties.

A dozen or so of these picadillos comprise interesting biographical and family sketches about early settlers in Rowan, Cabarrus, Davie, and neighboring counties. Another dozen relate background of old churches and a variety of other historic sites—ancient homesteads, an old gold mine, the haunts of Daniel Boone and Peter Stewart Ney, and “Smithfield,” the local version of the stately plantation house where George Washington slept during his tour of the South in 1791 (authenticated, of course, by the first President’s journal). The book has a few picadillos to delight every school of local history buffs, but the genealogists and those who like good pictures will be most pleased with it.

Included are a few poems by Peter Stewart Ney, the Rowan schoolmaster who is reputed to have been Napoleon Bonaparte’s famous Marshal Ney. These poetic picadillos have legendary rather than historic interest. As to their literary merit, Marshal Ney’s fame would better rest upon his military record.

Varieties of type and format used in this volume range as widely as the subject matter. Most of the type is rather uncomfortably small, though of good quality.

A fine feature of the book is its pictorial illustrations. Pictures are abundant, comprising in all thirty-seven items of which thirteen are full-page, and twelve are half-page in size. Pictorial subjects include old water mills, covered bridges, old homesteads, churches, memorials, public buildings, and sylvan scenes. Only one is a portrait.

“The articles in this book are presented to give the reader a backward glance, with the sincere hope that it will inspire more interest in preserving the past for the future,” the author states, by way of introduction. His well-documented assortment of interesting picadillos should well serve this purpose.

Charles R. Holloman

Department of Community Colleges

Richmond at War: The Minutes of the City Council, 1861-1865. Edited by Louis H. Manarin. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press [Official Publication No. 17, Richmond Civil War Centennial Committee], 1966. Preface, introduction, illustrations, notes, appendixes, index. Pp. xii, 645. \$12.50.)

Occasionally a reviewer has an opportunity to comment upon a book which really arouses his interest. This volume is a splendid con-

tribution to knowledge, to local history, to scholars, to genealogists, and to anyone who likes to see a task well done.

Publication of these minutes represents a dream completed for J. Ambler Johnston, the tireless chairman of the Richmond Civil War Centennial Committee and his loyal associates on that committee, who painstakingly and conscientiously guided the printing of twenty-six invaluable items, ranging from a splendid 1865 map of Richmond to these city council minutes.

The volume includes the council's deliberations from April 5, 1861, through the terse entry for April 3, 1865: "The City was, on this day, occupied by the United States forces, and the Council did not, therefore, meet." Between these two dates is recorded actions by the men who were charged with the government of the municipality which was the seat of government for the county of Henrico, the state of Virginia, and the Confederate States of America. The decisions of the council members reflect their zealous regard for states' rights, even municipal rights, when they stubbornly insisted upon their authority to direct their own affairs, to control their streets, and even to command their defenses.

These proceedings reflect the innumerable problems faced on the southern home front. The council even had to handle problems of drink and female camp followers, and it faced the tragedy of war's suffering soldiers and survivors. Although the gentlemen of the council were firm in their loyalty to the Old Dominion and the C.S.A., this attitude did not cause them to refrain from a pugnacious attention to the city's wartime needs.

Early in the conflict they spent municipal funds to fortify and defend the city. Then, they did not hesitate to pay the costs of care for the wounded men in gray. Perhaps the most impressive work of the council, however, was its valiant effort to provide relief for the people who crowded the city. They assumed a local duty to regulate prices at food shops and provide food for the poor and needy at cost. The council attempted to balance financial ledgers amid raging inflation, an effort which consumed many hours of deliberation and anxiety. Law enforcement was another frequent item of discussion before the council and resulted in a number of confrontations with local Confederate authorities.

Only a detailed summary could do justice to the many and varied topics covered in these minutes. It is not inappropriate to insist that this work includes the raw material for any observer to obtain a clear understanding of the problems home front residents faced during the war. Since Richmond almost was a combination of frontline and home

front as well, this work is doubly valuable. The editor has done a splendid job in providing explanatory material and the University of North Carolina is to be congratulated for putting the notes at the foot of the page where they belong in a work of this nature. Manarin's notes are complete enough to provide adequate information but they are never oppressively wordy. There are many rare contemporary photographs and well-chosen prints from magazines of the war period to add to visual attractiveness and the academic utility of the volume. The appendixes include a number of city ordinances, plus brief but highly informative biographies of the members of the wartime city council. The index is copiously thorough, a proper appendage to a fine volume.

Haskell Monroe

Texas A. & M. University

Robert Toombs of Georgia. By William Y. Thompson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xiii, 281. \$7.50.)

Robert Toombs (1810-1885), a regional and national figure during much of his lifetime, has been the subject of two previous biographies: Pleasant A. Stovall's *Robert Toombs* (New York, 1892) and Ulrich B. Phillips' *The Life of Robert Toombs* (New York, 1913). Stovall's volume was an undisciplined treatment of the obstreperous Georgian by a friend, and in Phillips' penetrating examination of Georgia politics Toombs often became little more than a background character. Thompson's highly competent biography meets this generation's need for a study which incorporates the findings of recent scholarship about Toombs and his times.

Thompson covers in fifty pages the salient aspects of Toombs' early life: his boyhood, his boisterous years at the University of Georgia, his later education after dismissal from the Athens institution, his early practice of law, his marriage, his service in the lower house of the Georgia legislature, and his first two terms in Congress. The remaining two hundred pages are divided in almost equal measure between Toombs' career in the 1850's and his later life.

Appraising Toombs as intelligent, independent, and basically conservative, Thompson believes that the Georgian failed to achieve greatness because of a "fatal flaw" which occasionally caused him, when under pressure, to "explode in any direction, after which he

would assemble the pieces and resume his former character." A striking instance of the disassembling tendency, according to the biographer, occurred at the time of Georgia's significant debate on the question of secession following Lincoln's election in 1860, when Toombs moved into the front lines of those who were demanding immediate withdrawal from the Union.

Thompson believes that his subject deteriorated rather steadily during the trying years of war and Reconstruction. Pointing to Toombs' increasing dissatisfaction with President Davis' overall conduct of the war and with the Confederacy's military leadership (West Point generals in particular), the biographer finds little to commend in the Georgian's own wartime service. During the postbellum era Toombs refused to cooperate with the "New Departure" oligarchy's industrial program and became instead an unreconstructed champion of the old ideals centering around the "Lost Cause." Hence, Thompson contends, the unforgiving and unforgiven old rebel failed his state and section during a grim period. The stricture seems rather harsh to this reviewer, although it is balanced somewhat by words of praise for Toombs' contributions as constitution maker in 1877 and as legal counsel for the state in railroad litigation. One suspects that those less inclined than the author toward the liberal tradition might reach a markedly different final judgment of the man in whom many have seen "a flashback to the time when 'Georgia was Georgia.'"

Horace H. Cunningham

University of Georgia

Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C., 1963-1965. Edited by Francis Coleman Rosenberger. (Washington, D.C.: Columbia Historical Society, 1966. Introduction, illustrations, membership roster, notes, indexes. Pp. xx, 513. \$12.50.)

The Columbia Historical Society was organized in 1894 to collect, preserve, and disseminate knowledge about the "history and topography of the District of Columbia and national history and biography." This third volume of its *Records* to appear under the editorship of Mr. Rosenberger is comprised of twenty-four papers, a chronicle of events for 1965, the report of the society's recorder, lists of officers and members, necrology, and indexes. The inclusion of indexes is a welcome improvement over the two previous volumes, but the subject index is not comprehensive enough.

The papers are arranged roughly chronologically by subject matter. They begin with an account of the Washington area between 1608 and 1708 and end with the "Goals of the Landmarks Committee" in 1964.

Five of the pages are concerned with architecture and five with the Civil War. The interest in the Civil War is understandable. The president of the society, Major General U. S. Grant III, served as chairman of the Civil War Centennial Commission, and this volume spans three years of the centennial.

The story of three generations of Clagetts and of the careers of two deceased local historians, John Clagett Proctor and his daughter Maude Proctor Callis, are the principal biographical articles.

Culture and education are covered in papers on the Smithsonian Institution, the Washington Art Association, educational associations, and Gallaudet College for the deaf.

Illustrations greatly enhance the articles on Victorian homes in Washington, the White House stables and garages, and "Old N Street in Georgetown." The work of Josephine Griffing with freedmen between 1864 and 1872 is made more meaningful by photographs of the government barracks and shacks where they were housed.

It is regrettable that the scholarship and style of several of the papers do not match in quality the handsome format of the volume. Mr. Rosenberger concedes in the Introduction that he has "perhaps been more permissive than scholarly discipline would dictate in accommodating the individual preferences of the authors." Several of the papers that were delivered before the society (a few were not) are better suited for inclusion in a reference work such as the *Records* than for delivery before an audience. In the future, the editor might well consider consigning the weaker papers to the archives of the society without benefit of publication.

Mattie Russell

Duke University

Cotton Kingdom of the New South: A History of the Yazoo Mississippi Delta from Reconstruction to the Twentieth Century. By Robert L. Brandfon. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967. Preface, maps, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 227. \$6.95.)

Historians until recently have ignored the years between the end of Reconstruction and the beginning of the twentieth century. Yet

these were critical years in the history of the nation—"the Emergence of Modern America." For the South this neglect was almost total until the post-World War II years when graduate students were encouraged to write state and local studies of the period. The monograph being reviewed here is one of such studies—a doctoral dissertation at Harvard University. It is a most successful study, and Harvard University Press has done an excellent job of printing this volume.

Professor Brandfon has a very acceptable style of writing. Indeed this reviewer found the volume to be very interesting as well as informative reading. The work is based on an exhaustive study of all available manuscript sources with special use of the materials derived from the Illinois Central Railroad archives deposited in the Newberry Library, Chicago; federal case files; and letters of Delta planters found in the Agricultural Division of the National Archives in Washington. Unfortunately, manuscript sources in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History for this period relating to this problem are both limited and unrevealing. The author has also made a careful study of all printed sources. Thus, both as researcher and writer he has performed his task admirably.

Professor Brandfon has shown in this volume how a rich enclave, the Yazoo Mississippi Delta (the "once impenetrable frontier of alluvial swamp"), came to be created in the midst of poverty after the Civil War and of the consequences that followed. "By the twentieth century, the largest of the planters of the Yazoo Delta were some of the wealthiest planters in the world. And they lived in Mississippi, the poorest state in the Union!" The study focuses on the various factors that went into the development of the Delta and on the interaction of these forces with the Delta's all-pervading concern for cotton growing. Improved river transportation, building of levees, stimulation of land values by speculation, introduction of outside capital, use of immigrant labor, and railroad building resulted, however, in a prosperity for the Delta that accentuated the contrast between it and neighboring deprived areas and deepened sectional divisions. This monograph will certainly lead to a better understanding of the "new political configurations that jolted the South" in the twentieth century.

Professor Brandfon correctly maintains that the history of these few rich enclaves in the South is "the starting point for the history of the South in the twentieth century." This reviewer looks forward to the publication of similar studies for the other areas of the South.

John Edmond Gonzales

University of Southern Mississippi

The South Since Appomattox: A Century of Regional Change. By Thomas D. Clark and Albert D. Kirwan. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. Illustrations, notes, index, bibliography. Pp. vii, 438. \$7.50.)

This book by two nationally known southern historians is a comprehensive and balanced account of the South during the century since the end of the Civil War. With keen perception, wit, information abounding, and lively prose, it studies in depth the many forces working to transform the South economically, politically, and socially since Appomattox. The book begins with an overall interpretative chapter on the New South and then moves chronologically through Reconstruction and the Agrarian Revolt. The remainder of the book, and the bulk of it, is developed topically running from agriculture through demagoguery and reform, industrialism, education, literature, the New Deal, the South in the electrical age, politics, the Negro, urbanization, the segregation decisions, the civil rights movement, and finally the evolving South. There is an excellent bibliography for each one of these topics at the end of the book.

Professors Clark and Kirwan both know the South and its history as well as anyone and have written extensively about it, and this book is a product of their long years of work on the South. It is fortunate to have their mature and discerning judgments and keen insights and to learn from two masters what has been going on in the South in the hundred years since Appomattox. Though the authors write in a sympathetic and understanding manner, they condemn the South when it is necessary, for example, in its unwillingness to diversify and modernize agriculture after the Civil War, in its efforts to deny the Negro his rights, and in the extremes of conduct among southern politicians.

Some of the interesting conclusions in the book are: (1) The Redeemers were not so much anti-farmer in outlook as they were neglectful of the farmer. (2) Fear of "Negro domination" was not the only reason for legal disfranchisement of the Negro. Voters in white sections also sought to curtail the over-representation which plantation counties had for their non-voting Negroes, and there was a genuine desire for democratic reforms. (3) The failure of southern farmers to keep abreast of technological improvements in farming, and the absence of home capital to purchase tools and supplies affected southern agriculture more significantly in the post-Civil War years than the destruction of property on southern farms during the war. (4) Despite the criticism made against the crop-lien system, it is a certainty the South after 1865 could not have carried on as well as it did without it. (5) The agrarian revolution and the

institution of the primary election were not responsible for bringing demagogues for the first time into southern politics. And (6) the so-called coalition in Congress between southern Democrats and northern Republicans in recent years is largely a myth.

This is a splendid history of the South and every American should read it to understand better this section of the country.

Vincent P. De Santis

University of Notre Dame

Technology in Early America: Needs and Opportunities for Study. By Brooke Hindle. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. Foreword, directory of artifact collections, index. Pp. xx, 145. \$4.50.)

Guidebooks can be very helpful to the historian entering a new field, and this one is well done. It surveys the literature and the artifact sources for the study of American technology through the Colonial and national periods to 1850. It offers, too, many thoughtful comments on the nature, scope, and limits of technology as a focus for historical study. Brooke Hindle of New York University presents two essays, one interpretive and the other bibliographical. He wants to integrate the history of technology with other kinds of history. "The greatest need," he says, "is to stand at the center of technology—on the inside looking out," instead of "looking at technology through the eyes of science, economics, political reflections, social results, or literary antagonisms." The bibliographical essay deals with guides and sources, and with a long list of crafts and industries and with such related subjects as power, heat, light, electricity, and education.

An accompanying essay by Lucius F. Ellsworth of the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, entitled "A Directory of Artifact Collections," discusses the writings on artifact collections and gives a long, classified, and annotated list of museums and their collections. As one who has tried to find some of these things without a guide, this reviewer looks with much favor on such a publication. If one wants to know where mining relics such as picks, sledges, chisels, bits, and lamps are on display, page 104 indicates that the Bucks County Historical Society of Doylestown, Pennsylvania, has them. Ice harvesting tools can be found in the Skenesborough Museum of Whitehall, New York. And so it goes.

This is the fifth publication in the *Needs and Opportunities for Study* series of the Institute of Early American History and Culture. It grew out of a conference on October 15, 1965, sponsored by the institute and the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation.

James F. Doster

University of Alabama

Naval Documents of the Revolution, Volume 2. Edited by William Bell Clark. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office for the Naval History Division, United States Navy Department [projected 15 volumes, 1964—], 1966. Foreword, introduction, preface, appendixes, bibliography, index. Pp. xlvii, 1,463. \$8.50.)

Naval Documents of the Revolution, Volume 2, is a continuation of the ambitious project of the Navy Department's Division of Naval History to collect, edit, and publish all available documentary evidence of the influence of sea power in the American Revolution. For inclusion in the first two volumes of the series, sixty-two depositories in the United States and abroad have been searched for every item which might bear even remotely upon waterborne operations, and the search for additional material continues. A few items were found in such a seemingly unlikely source as the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem.

As in Volume 1, the book is divided into sections pertaining to the American and European theaters of operations. Within each section material is chronologically arranged, covering a period of less than three months in the fall of 1775. During this brief span there were momentous developments on both sides of the Atlantic as the tempo of the war sharply increased.

France continued to watch events with interest, and in Britain the voices of the doves of the period were drowned by the demands of the hawks that the rebellion be crushed. Vice Admiral Samuel Graves, with an inadequate force of obsolete and undermanned ships, was assigned the impossible task of blockading the American coast and supporting land operations. When he failed he was relieved of command. Efforts to rebuild the navy were evidenced by orders to dockyards to speed up delivery of new ships on order.

Washington's little "navy" of schooners and other seagoing odds and ends achieved considerable success against British supply ships and influenced the Continental Congress to enact, on October 13,

1775, the first naval legislation in American history. The act provided for the procurement of a number of vessels and for their conversion to men-of-war. Lieutenant John Paul Jones hoisted the Grand Union flag over one of these ships, the "Alfred," in December, 1775. On November 10, 1775, Congress passed a resolution establishing the Marine Corps.

Volume 2 includes a foreword by President Lyndon B. Johnson. It is well illustrated with photographs, charts, broadsides, and a variety of other items, and it contains an interesting pictorial essay of navigational facilities available during the period. There are also a number of interesting appendixes, including one containing records of the Port of Roanoke, North Carolina. An excellent index is provided.

When the projected series of approximately fifteen volumes is completed, historians, students, and readers in general will have available at their fingertips practically all surviving documentation dealing with the birth of the American Navy and the naval phase of the Revolution.

A. M. Patterson

State Department of Archives and History

The American Naval Revolution. By Walter R. Herrick, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 274. \$7.50.)

The history of the United States Navy in the thirty-three years between the Civil War and the war with Spain is a story of decline and resurgence. From a position of naval power in 1865, the United States entered a period of decline and deliberate reduction which left it in 1880 one of the weakest navies in the world. The growth of the navy that defeated Spain in 1898 and that became Theodore Roosevelt's great white fleet is one of the most dramatic stories of the American past; it is with this story that Dr. Herrick deals.

The history of the rise of the new navy is not a simple one; Dr. Herrick tells it well and understandably. It may be, however, that he has oversimplified it. The years after 1881, when the ships of the navy that defeated Spain were built, were complex. This was a time of nationalism and, indeed, of jingoism; this was the time of Alfred Thayer Mahan; this was the time of industrialism and of the growth of business. During these years frontier America came to an end; Populism flared; and the United States turned outward. All of these elements contributed to the rise of the new navy and to emphasize the role of Mahan, for example, is to oversimplify.

Many people—politicians and professional navy men—were involved in what Herrick calls the revolution in the American navy. Certainly his implication that Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Tracy was primarily, if not solely, responsible for this development may properly be questioned. Tracy's role was important, but others were equally important.

The documentation of the study is impressive and the Bibliography is extensive. This reviewer cannot help but wonder, however, why the general correspondence files of the Secretary of the Navy for the period beginning in 1885, which are now in the National Archives, were not used. There are also in the National Archives records of certain of the naval boards and commissions that functioned during and prior to the war with Spain; there is no indication that they were examined. The author has the distressing habit of citing citations in other secondary works, indicating the primary source to which the other author refers. In at least one such instance a quotation is incorrectly quoted and it does not appear on the page on which Dr. Herrick's footnote indicates that it does.

The book contains a few annoying errors. For example, a picture identified as Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy (1897-1898), is actually a photograph of Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Navy (1921-1924).

Thornton W. Mitchell

State Department of Archives and History

Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, 1965. Book I—January 1 to May 31, 1965. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, for the National Archives, 1966. Foreword, preface, list of items, index. Pp. lxxvii, 596, A-84. \$6.25.) *Book II—June 1 to December 31, 1965.* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, for the National Archives, 1966. List of items, appendixes, index. Pp. lxii, 597-1,206, A-84. \$6.25.)

In these books are gathered most of the public messages and statements of the thirty-sixth President of the United States that were released by the White House in 1965. Similar volumes are available covering the period November 22, 1963-December 31, 1964, and the administrations of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy. A volume covering the year 1966 is under preparation. Historians have reason to be grateful that the National Historical Publications Commission recommended the establishment of this official series in which

presidential writings and utterances of a public nature could be made promptly available. As in earlier volumes, the items are presented in chronological order. This arrangement together with a subject index enhances the serviceability of the work.

Once again even the most casual reader is impressed by the enormous range of problems and issues which confront the institution of the American Presidency. The reader is also reminded of the industry of the Eighty-ninth Congress and of the remarkable legislative record and "dedicated devotion" (to use the President's words) of that body.

President Johnson's major formal addresses reveal the mind of a concerned, dedicated, decent, patriotic leader; a man with a strong moral bias and some sense of history. Yet surely none of the addresses approaches the eloquence and passion of Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address or Wilson's War Message. President Johnson's most engaging side is revealed in his informal remarks, toasts, notes of congratulations, and letters of condolences, and one comes to a new understanding of and liking for the man. The limitations of his awareness of the modern world are, however, also discernible, as for example in his answer to a press conference question concerning Vietnam: "I think I'll go back to my July statement and say that we are very anxious to have peace in that area of the world, and as soon as folks there are willing to leave their neighbors alone, why, we can have peace."

Robert Moats Miller

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

North Carolina Highways and Its Builders, Volume II, has been published by Superior Stone Company, Raleigh, and dedicated to the late president of the company, W. Trent Ragland, who conceived the idea for the book and saw Volume I through the press in 1952. The purpose of this second volume is to tell the story of roadbuilding in North Carolina in the fourteen-year interim and to introduce the governors, highway officials, contractors, and suppliers who have had a part in the development of the state's highways. This buckram-bound volume, designed and illustrated by Stuart Studio, Inc., of Greensboro, continues the nine-by-twelve format and is printed on an excellent grade of paper. The text was written by John Harden, author of *The Devil's Tramping Ground* and *Tar Heel Ghosts*, with the assistance of the staff of his public relations firm. The 252-page book is divided into

four parts: "A History of North Carolina Roads to 1965," "North Carolina's Official Highway Organization," "Builders and Suppliers—North Carolina Highways," and "A Picture Story—North Carolina Roads and Highways." The first three sections are profusely illustrated, and the fourth is composed of ten pages of photographs which highlight the development of the state's highway system. There are two maps, an official highway map and a small sketch illustrating the proposed interstate system. Color photographs of the Herbert C. Bonner Bridge and of Interstate 40, advancing through Pisgah National Forest, make up the front and back endpapers respectively. An index to names is included. Copies of this handsome publication are being distributed by Mr. W. Trent Ragland, Jr., to those who have contributed to making North Carolina a "good roads" state.

The Iredell County Committee of the National Society, Colonial Dames of America, has compiled and published *Fourth Creek Memorial Burying Ground, 1756, Statesville, North Carolina: History, Legends, Inscriptions*, the major portion of which is an alphabetical listing of cemetery inscriptions dating from 1759 to approximately 1888. The paperbound booklet, published in a four-by-nine format on a good quality of paper, includes a preface, which gives a brief history of the cemetery, a foreword, and lists of bibliographical sources and patrons. Copies may be purchased for \$1.00 from the First Presbyterian Church office, the Public Library, the Chamber of Commerce, or from any member of the county committee of the Colonial Dames, Statesville, N.C.

Steelman's: The Beloved School in the Pines, New Hope Baptist Church Community, Iredell County, by Tracy Caudle, is a brief history of the school from its beginnings in 1880 to its abandonment in 1924. The school was named for the author's grandfather, who gave the land and who, with J. L. Cain, constructed the one-room building. The 12-page pamphlet includes a sketch of and is dedicated to Miss Della Arnold, one of Steelman's teachers. Also included is a photograph of the school and a listing of students for those years for which registers were available, as well as teachers' names and salaries, and titles of textbooks used. For information as to how copies of the booklet may be obtained, write to Mrs. Caudle at Route 2, Box 57-A, Elkin, N.C.

Mrs. Doris Futch Briscoe has begun what promises to be a useful source for historians and genealogists in her recent publication of

Mecklenburg County Court Minutes, Book I, 1774-1780. Mimeographed in 194 pages and including an index to most of the names in the text, the paperbound volume is available for \$10.00 from Mrs. Briscoe, 3137 Commonwealth Avenue, Charlotte, N.C., 28205.

Rosser Howard Taylor, author of *Carolina Crossroads*, states in the Preface that "This is a book about the plain people of a crossroads village and vicinity in the South at the end of the horse-and-buggy era." Dr. Taylor, a professor emeritus of history at Western Carolina College, Cullowhee, has taken an affectionate look backward at the olden days and has made a record for posterity of his subjective evaluation of the way things were. In addition to 160 pages of text, there is a 12-page index. The book, which sells for \$4.95, is illustrated and has a washable hard-cover binding. Copies may be purchased from the Johnson Publishing Company, Murfreesboro, N.C.

A Time for Poetry: 1966 is an anthology of 128 poems written by 37 members of the North Carolina Poetry Society and selected on a competitive basis by a panel of impartial judges from verse solicited from all members of the society. Varying widely in style, subject matter, and content, the poems in this volume should appeal to readers of divergent ages and backgrounds. Many of the selections have appeared previously in books, magazines, and newspapers. The clothbound volume, with many of its 185 pages half blank and a dustjacket which seems more utilitarian than poetic, sells for \$4.50. Copies may be ordered from the publisher, John F. Blair, 404 North Carolina National Bank Building, Winston-Salem, N.C.

The North Carolina Poetry Society has made available *Award-Winning Poems, 1966*, which includes prize poems from the society's five contests held during 1966. The 36-page booklet is bound in an attractive paper cover. Also available from the society are *Award-Winning Poems, 1964-1965*, and *Past the Flame of Words*, the latter of which is composed of the 1965 Brotherhood Contest poems. Any of the three titles may be purchased for \$1.00 each or three copies for \$2.75. Orders should be sent to North Carolina Poetry Society Books, Box 176, Burlington, N.C., 27215.

The University of Chicago Press has initiated publication of a *Classic American Historians* series under the general editorship of Paul M. Angle, the purpose of which is to reprint selected writings from the works of nine great nineteenth-century historians [Henry] Adams,

Bancroft, McMaster, Parkman, Prescott, Tyler, Rhodes, and Nicolay and Hay. Two volumes are at hand, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, by John G. Nicolay and John Hay, abridged and edited by Mr. Angle, and *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, by James Ford Rhodes, abridged and edited by Allan Nevins. Mr. Angle has selected representative chapters from the Nicolay and Hay study of Lincoln, originally encompassing ten volumes, to make up a 393-page volume, which begins with a summary of the events leading up to Lincoln's election as president and concludes with the authors' appraisal of Lincoln's place in history. In addition to a 13-page introduction, the editor has written a brief commentary to precede each chapter. For *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, Allan Nevins has selected chapters from the first five volumes of the original seven-volume study, to make up a 576-page volume which covers the period 1850-1865. Editor Nevins has supplied a 20-page introduction as well as a summary and commentary to precede each chapter. Both volumes include an index and bibliographical note; footnotes have been omitted. Prices for the clothbound and paperbound editions of *Abraham Lincoln: A History* are \$8.50 and \$3.45, and for *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* are \$10.00 and \$3.95, respectively. Order from the publisher at 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill., 60637.

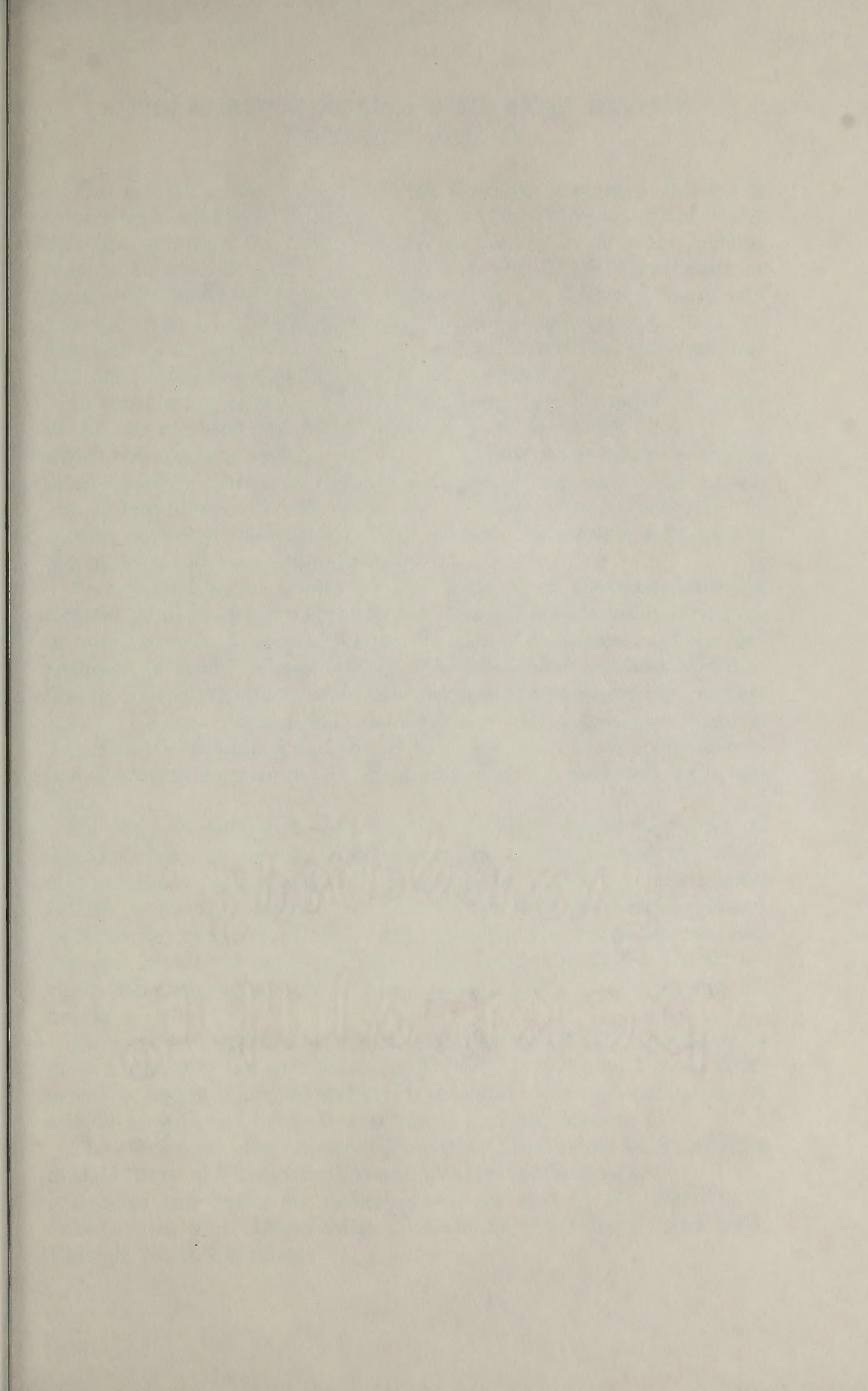
To commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment in 1916, the Marine reserve officers of Public Affairs Unit 4-1 have written *The Marine Corps Reserve: A History*. The team of writers have kept the 311-page history readable and lively by interspersing anecdotes, human interest stories, and 48 pages of photographs along with what could have been an interminable listing of personnel, numerical units, battles, geographical names, and statistics. Footnotes have been omitted, but for the benefit of researchers a documented and annotated copy of the history is available in the archives of the Historical Reference Section, Headquarters Marine Corps, Washington, D.C. In addition to a foreword, introduction, and index, there are nine appendixes and a brief bibliographical note. Clothbound copies of the book may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at \$3.50 each.

A new report in the National Archives' *Preliminary Report Series* is Number 166, *Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the National Park Service*, compiled by Edward E. Hill. The 52-page inventory includes a listing of the printed, written, photographic, sound, and carto-

graphic records relating to the National Park Service which are now being processed by the National Archives. Of particular interest to historians is a description of the records of the Potomac Company and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company which span a 130-year period from 1785 to 1938. This publication is available free of charge from the Exhibits and Publications Division, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C., 20408.

Louisiana State University Press has issued a paperbound edition of *American Negro Slavery*, by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, which was first published in 1918. Those who question the wisdom of reprinting this venerable work at this time should reserve decision until after reading the Foreword to the new edition, "Ulrich Bonnell Phillips and His Critics," by Eugene D. Genovese. Genovese surveys briefly the important works published on the subject of slavery during the last decade, but devotes much space to a critique of *The Peculiar Institution* by Kenneth Stampp, which has replaced Phillips' work on many college syllabuses. Racism kept Phillips from being a great historian, says Genovese, but he concludes that ". . . Phillips, despite his bias, still has much to say to us, however much more remains to be said by a new generation. *American Negro Slavery* is not the last word on its subject; merely the indispensable first." Copies of the 524-page book, which includes an index, may be ordered from the publisher at Baton Rouge for \$2.95 each.

The *North Carolina Historical Review* is printed on Permalife, a text paper developed through the combined efforts of William J. Barrow of the Virginia State Library, the Council on Library Resources, Inc., and the Standard Paper Manufacturing Company. Tests indicate that the paper theoretically has a useful life of at least 300 years.



papers are now being in the National Park Service which are now being processed by the National Archives. Of particular interest is recently the transcription of the records of the Potomac Company and the Baltimore and Ohio Canal Company which span a 130-year group from 1789 to 1909. This publication is available free of charge to the National Archives and Publications Division, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C. 20408.

Harvard University Press has issued a revised edition of *General John Barry* by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, which was first published in 1911. Those who question the wisdom of reprinting this book should remember that one should reserve decision until after reading it. *General Barry* is a new edition, "Ulrich Bonnell Phillips and His Works" by Robert H. Ragsdale. Ragsdale surveys briefly the important works published on the subject of slavery during the last century, but in 1911, which opens in a critique of *The Peculiar Institution* by W. E. B. Dubois, which has replaced Phillips' work on many of the same subjects. Ragsdale kept Phillips from being a great historian. He concludes that "... Phillips, despite his bias, did his work well, and however much more remains to be said by a more modern American Negro Slavery is not the last word on its subject matter for a responsible first." Copies of the 524-page book, which includes a foreword, may be ordered from the publisher at Baton Rouge, La. 70803.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of the *North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent states. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this state, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject matter for the *Review*, but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, and style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of the subject, and inaccurate citations.

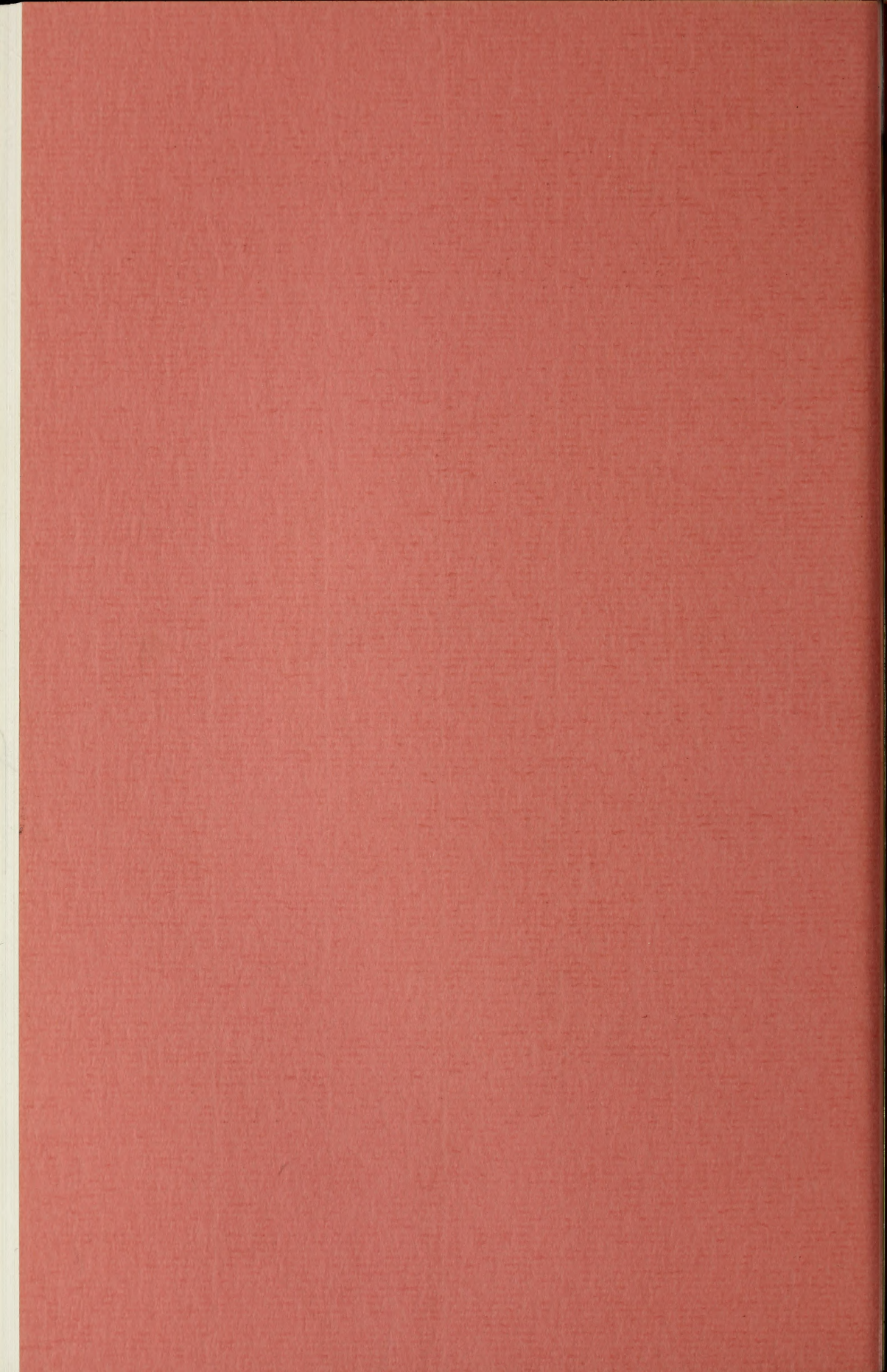
Persons desiring to submit articles for the *North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook*, which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for the *Review*. Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of the *North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of the *North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.



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The North Carolina Historical Review



Autumn 1967

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is \$4.00 per year. Members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., for which the annual dues are \$5.00, receive this publication without further payment. Back numbers still in print are available for \$1.00 per number. Out-of-print numbers may be obtained from Kraus Reprint Corporation, 16 East 46th Street, New York, New York, 10017, or on microfilm from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Persons desiring to quote from this publication may do so without special permission from the editors provided full credit is given to the North Carolina Historical Review. The Review is published quarterly by the State Department of Archives and History, Education Building, Corner of Edenton and Salisbury Streets, Raleigh, North Carolina, 27601. Mailing address is Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina, 27602. Second class postage paid at Raleigh, North Carolina, 27602.

COVER—This large storage jar was found in fragments on the floor of "Russellborough" at Brunswick Town and was restored by the archaeological staff of the State Department of Archives and History. For an article on the history of " 'Russellborough': Two Royal Governors' Mansion at Brunswick Town," see pages 360 to 372. Photograph supplied by Stanley A. South.

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THE END OF THE REBELLION

BY ROBERT B. MURRAY*

The date of the legal end of the Civil War affected the legal rights of thousands of loyal Americans. It was therefore of vital importance that the precise end of that conflict be determined.

In a foreign war the treaty of peace is evidence of the time of the war's termination. But what determines the time of ending of a domestic conflict? This question was answered by the United States Supreme Court in its December, 1869, term in the case of *United States v. Anderson*.¹

What brought the case to the Supreme Court? Who was Anderson? What guides did the court use to determine the legal end of the conflict? The answers to these and other questions show the inclination of the court to treat with liberality those who had remained loyal to the United States throughout the conflict—even those who had lived in the South.

Congress had provided for the establishment of a Court of Claims in February, 1855, and persons whose property had been taken for public use were entitled to file suit for recovery in the court. When the Court of Claims was established, provision was made for three judges; in March, 1863, its membership was increased to five.²

After passage of the Captured and Abandoned Property Act of March 12, 1863—the key statute in the Anderson case—the Court of Claims soon found itself handling a large number of the so-called “cotton cases.” Under the provisions of the enactment, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized “to appoint a special agent or agents to receive and collect all abandoned or captured property in any state or territory . . . designated as in insurrection. . . .”³ Such property was to be appropriated to public use or forwarded to a loyal state where it was to be sold. Sales were to be by auction, and proceeds were to

* Mr. Murray is an attorney in Colorado Springs, Colorado.

¹ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. 56 (1869).

² Frank W. Klingberg, *The Southern Claims Commission* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press [Volume L of *University of California Publications in History*, edited by J. S. Galbraith, R. N. Burr, and Brainerd Dyer], 1955, 34, hereinafter cited as Klingberg, *Southern Claims Commission*; 10 Stat. 612, c. 122; 12 Stat. 765, c. 92 [s. 1].

³ 12 Stat. 820, c. 120 [s. 1].

United States



of America.

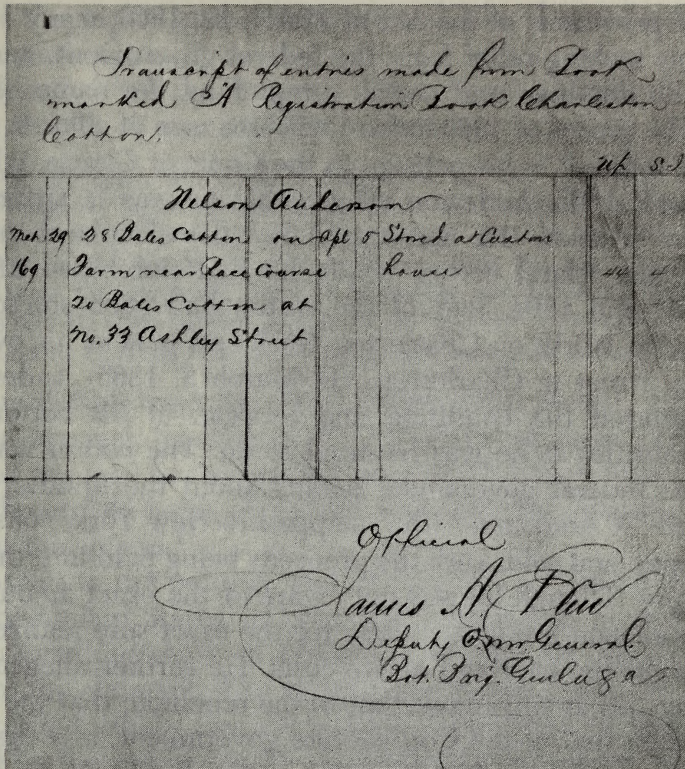
J.S.P.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

In pursuance of the Act of Congress of 22d of February, 1849, relating to the certification of records under seal by the Secretary of the Treasury, and of the Act of February 24, 1855, section 13, empowering the United States Court of Claims "to call upon any of the Departments for any information it may deem necessary," and whereas the last provision of the above-named section, to wit: That the head of no Department shall answer any call for information or papers if, in his opinion, it would be injurious to the public interest, is in nowise violated by the transmission of the annexed information: Therefore, on this 8th day of June, in the year A. D. one thousand eight hundred and Sixty-eight, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, in answer to the ^{request} of the above-named Court of Claims, dated June 5th 1868, submits the following ~~transcripts of original papers and records~~ as being the information now on file in his Office touching the matters inquired of by said rule in the cause of Nelson Anderson vs. The United States, to wit:

That no information exists in this Department concerning the above named cause, other than that all the Cottons captured by the military forces of the United States, at Charleston, in the State of South Carolina, were turned over, without any identification of separate lots, to Simcoe Draper, U.S. Cotton Agent at New York, who sold the same for and on account of the United States Government; that the average net proceeds for each bale, as nearly as can be ascertained, are \$131⁷²/₁₀₀ for Upland and \$134⁶⁴/₁₀₀ for Sea Island Cotton, the same being estimated on a currency basis.

Attest
Secretary of the Treasury.



The Treasury Department and War Department records, left and above, were introduced in evidence during the hearing of the Anderson case before the Court of Claims. Reproduced from microfilm of Anderson case in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

be paid into the federal treasury.⁴ The Secretary of the Treasury was to keep a book of accounts showing from whom property was received, the costs of transportation, and the amount of the proceeds. The law further provided:

And any person claiming to have been the owner of any such abandoned or captured property may, at any time within two years after the suppression of the rebellion, prefer his claim to the proceeds thereof in the court of claims; and on proof to the satisfaction of said court of his ownership of said property, of his right to the proceeds thereof, and that he has never given any aid or comfort to the present rebellion, to receive the residue of such proceeds, after the deduction of any purchase-money which may have been paid, together with the expense of transportation and sale of said property, and any other lawful expenses attending the disposition thereof.⁵

⁴ 12 Stat. 820, c. 120, s. 2.

⁵ 12 Stat. 820, c. 120, s. 3.

Under the provisions of the Act of March 12, 1863, many claimants filed petitions seeking relief from the federal government, and one of these was the drayman and cotton sampler by the name of Nelson Anderson. The census of 1860 listed 1,455 free men of color in Charleston, South Carolina;⁶ in his petition to the Court of Claims, which was filed on June 5, 1868, Anderson alleged that he was "a citizen of the United States of color." He had owned 38 bales of upland cotton and 10 bales of Sea Island cotton which he had purchased at various times in 1863 and 1864. Part of the cotton had been stored on the farm of one Dr. North on Charleston Neck and part at his own home at 33 Ashley Street in Charleston. On March 8, 1865, Anderson had dutifully reported the condition and location of his cotton to the military authorities as he was required to do. The cotton was seized, taken by the federal government agents about the middle of April, 1865, marked "N Anderson #169," shipped to New York, consigned to Simeon Draper, and sold, with the proceeds being paid into the United States treasury. Though he was not aware of the exact amount of the proceeds, Anderson brought a claim for the exact sum realized, whatever that might be, over and above costs. He further alleged that he had not given aid or encouragement to the rebellion, that the property had never been that of the Confederate government, and that he was the bona fide purchaser. Anderson signed the petition with his mark, giving his post office address as Summerville, South Carolina. The petition was filed by T. J. D. Fuller, solicitor, with a Washington, D.C., address.⁷

Anderson's lawyer was a native of Vermont who had represented Maine in the United States House of Representatives from 1849 to 1857. He had served as second auditor of the treasury from 1857 to 1861 and was practicing law after the war before both the Court of Claims and the Supreme Court in Washington.⁸ Fuller handled numerous cotton cases before the Court of Claims.⁹ At the time of filing the petition for Anderson, Fuller also sought an order of court to obtain

⁶ Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 449.

⁷ Petition of Nelson Anderson to Court of Claims, filed June 5, 1868, microfilm copy of Court of Claims record of case of *Anderson v. United States*, National Archives, Washington, D.C., hereinafter cited as *Anderson Petition*; microfilm documents from original Court of Claims record will hereinafter be cited as *National Archives record*.

⁸ *Who Was Who in America: Historical Volume, 1607-1896* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Co., 1963), 193, hereinafter cited as *Who Was Who*.

⁹ See opinions in Volumes III and IV of *United States Court of Claims Reports*.

copies of the papers in the Treasury and War departments relating to the claimant's cotton.¹⁰

On June 8, 1868, the Treasury Department submitted a report indicating that there was no information

other than that all the cottons captured by the military forces of the United States, at Charleston, in the state of South Carolina, were turned over, without any identification of separate lots, to Simeon Draper, U.S. Cotton Agent at New York, who sold the same for and on account of the United States Government; that the average *net* proceeds for each bale, as nearly as can be ascertained, are \$131 20/100 for Upland and \$237 64/100 for Sea Island Cotton, the same being estimated on a currency basis.¹¹

The transcript from the War Department record showed in the Anderson account for March 29 a total of 28 bales of cotton on a farm near the race course and 20 bales at 33 Ashley Street; the April 5 record showed 44 bales of upland and 4 of Sea Island cotton stored at the custom house.¹²

An answer to the petition was filed by the government on June 30, 1868. The United States, as defendant, denied all of Anderson's allegations, including those of obligation to pay for the cotton and of loyalty of the claimant. The answer also averred that the petition had not been filed within two years after suppression of the rebellion as required by the Act of March 12, 1863; the contention was also made that Anderson, at the time he filed his petition, was an alien.¹³ A later plea of alienage cited a congressional act of July 27, 1868, which prohibited an alien from filing a claim against the United States in any court under the March 12, 1863, act and which had been passed to defend the treasury against unlawful claims. The government also argued that Anderson's cotton had been lawfully seized under the March 12, 1863, statute.¹⁴ The plea of alienage was signed by T. Lyle Dickey, who served as assistant attorney general of the United States from 1868 to 1870.¹⁵

The rules of practice of the Court of Claims provided for the ap-

¹⁰ Order of court upon Departments of Treasury and War, June 5, 1868, National Archives record.

¹¹ Treasury Department record, signed by H. McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury, June 8, 1868, filed June 11, 1868, National Archives record, hereinafter cited as Treasury record.

¹² Certified copy of entries from War Department book marked "A Registration Book Charleston Cotton," signed by James A. Blue, July 6, 1868, filed July 9, 1868, National Archives record, hereinafter cited as War Department record.

¹³ Answer of Defendants, by John J. Weed, Assistant Solicitor for the United States, filed June 30, 1868, National Archives record.

¹⁴ Plea of Alienage, signed by T. Lyle Dickey, Assistant Attorney General, filed December 21, 1868, National Archives record; 15 Stat. 243, c. 276, s. 2.

¹⁵ *Who Was Who*, 149.

My name is Nelson Anderson I am fifty years of age. I have lived in Charleston So Ca. for almost my whole life and in Summerville So Ca. since Christmas last. I am Cotton sampler by trade and I am the claimant in this case.

During the war I owned some cotton thirty eight Bales of Upland and Ten Bales of Sea Island. I bought this cotton from Capt Duceil at Potters wharf Cotton press. This was a part of the cotton of the Sea Island cotton (10) Ten Bales and of the Upland Cotton (28) twenty eight Bales. I bought the remainder in bulk from Fleming corner of Hayne & ^{Church} ~~Frank~~ Streets. I reported my cotton from Capt Sturdivant on the eighth day of March and on the same day it was seized by Capt Sturdivant. I had eighteen (18) Bales of cotton stored at Dr. Norths farm at the Race Ground. and the Balance of it at no 33 Ashley St Charleston So. Ca. It was taken a month after I reported it this Cotton when it was seized was brought to the Custom House. When my cotton was taken it was good cotton, except ten Bales were damaged by being wet. I was all the days of my life a loyal man to the United

The first page of Nelson Anderson's deposition gives details concerning his acquisition of cotton and its later seizure by United States officials. Reproduced from microfilm of Anderson case in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

pointment of a permanent commissioner and special commissioners as needed to take testimony.¹⁶ Under these rules of the court William Gurney, a commissioner stationed in Charleston, South Carolina, took depositions in the case on June 23 and 24, 1868. Anderson, his local counsel H. H. Byron, and the government's Charleston attorney W. James Whaley were present for the hearings at which the claimant and six witnesses testified. Though his testimony was later ruled incompetent by the court, Anderson's deposition gave in some detail information about his life as well as the circumstances surrounding his purchase of cotton. He was fifty years old, a lifelong resident of Charleston until the preceding Christmas when he had moved to Summerville. He had been a cotton sampler by trade and had bought cotton from both Phillip M. Doucen and Daniel F. Fleming. Both of these men appeared as witnesses for Anderson, testifying that they had known him for years, had sold cotton to him, and had been paid the market rate. They verified Anderson's testimony concerning his employment by local firms engaged in various aspects of the cotton business. The cotton purchased from Fleming had been damaged, but Anderson had taken it to the race ground, dried and packed it, and rebaled it into ten bales. The claimant explained that he had worked as a cotton sampler to Caldwell, Blake, and Company and had been paid ten cents a bale for each bale he had repaired.¹⁷

On March 8, 1865, following the evacuation of Charleston by the forces of the Confederacy, Anderson reported to the United States military authorities, and his cotton was seized and shipped to New York in April.¹⁸ Anderson testified that when "they" called for him, he packed his cotton and went with it the whole way to the custom house.¹⁹ At the rate of \$131.20 for upland and \$237.64 for Sea Island cotton, Anderson's forty-eight bales were sold for \$6,723.36.²⁰

The Captured and Abandoned Property Act of March 12, 1863, by

¹⁶ Rule XIX of "Rules of Practice of the Court of Claims," preceding reported cases in Volume III of *United States Court of Claims Reports*.

¹⁷ Depositions of Nelson Anderson, Phillip M. Doucen, and Daniel F. Fleming, June 23-24, 1868, National Archives record, Anderson's deposition hereinafter cited as Anderson Deposition. It is of interest that the commissioner notified those concerned on June 5 that depositions would be taken on June 22. On June 22 the claimant and his witnesses did not appear and the hearings were adjourned without question until the next day. See National Archives record. Doucen's name is spelled in various ways in the original documents, but the spelling used here is that used in the Supreme Court opinion. See also the deposition of Richard D. Hart, June 23, 1868, who was employed by military authorities to mark cotton and who had marked Anderson's cotton.

¹⁸ Anderson Petition.

¹⁹ Anderson Deposition.

²⁰ See Treasury and War Department records. There was some controversy over the determination of the actual amount owed Anderson, but this matter is irrelevant to the discussion of the case here.

providing for the sale of cotton and other products such as sugar, rice, and tobacco,²¹ endeavored to assure basic commodities for use in the North where they were in short supply while at the same time depriving the South of products which constituted the backbone of its economy.

The 1863 law provided, however, that if any of the items actually confiscated under the act were owned by individuals who had remained loyal to the Union, the net proceeds of the sales were to be paid to them.²² Anderson's petition alleged that he had not given aid or encouragement to the rebellion but had desired its overthrow and suppression. In his testimony he stated that he had always been loyal to the United States and had opposed the rebellion, that he had never worked in favor of the Confederates and they did not make him work on any batteries, that he had only "minded" some cotton for them once but they would not pay. He added that they said they would give him 100 lashes in pay. Anderson emphasized, on redirect examination, that he did not "mind" the cotton voluntarily, but that he had to do the work against his will when ordered by the Confederates to do so.²³

Nelson Anderson's loyalty was proved by the testimony of other witnesses. John L. Fennick, also a Negro, testified that he was a cotton dealer and had known Anderson for twenty-three or twenty-four years and had often talked with him during the war. He knew that the claimant had been loyal, testifying:

I heard him say in the early part of the war at the time of the Bombardment of Fort Sumter, that he "was sorry to see it and he hoped [Robert] Anderson would be successful." During the war we spoke to each other often, and when we heard of a Battle in which the Union forces were not successful he always grieved over it. He often expressed to me a wish that he could assist the Union Force. This was his tone up to the time I left him.

On cross-examination Fennick, who declared himself to be a loyal man, added, "I only heard him speak of his loyalty I never saw him do anything to prove it."²⁴

Two other Negroes also attested to the loyalty of Anderson, and one of them offered evidence of tangible aid to the enemy's prisoners. William Miller, who had known Anderson from boyhood, was in the employment of the Freedman's Bureau. During the war he had often

²¹ 12 Stat. 821, c. 120, s. 6; Klingberg, *Southern Claims Commission*, 32-33.

²² 12 Stat. 820, c. 120, s. 3.

²³ Anderson Petition and Deposition.

²⁴ Deposition of John L. Fennick, June 24, 1868, National Archives record.

talked with Anderson and knew that he wanted to see the rebellion crushed. He said Anderson had given him \$10 or \$20 in Confederate money to be used to help prisoners from the "Isaac P. Smith" and from Morris Island and had offered to give more if it were needed. He added that before more could be given the "Commanding General" put a stop to it. On cross-examination the witness testified that Anderson sometimes expressed himself before white men but "appeared to be on the good side of them. They took no notice of it in him where if it had been me they would have lashed me." The affiant told of raising \$200 to be given to the imprisoned men.²⁵

The other affiant was John F. Robertson, a man who had known Anderson during the war, who expressed certainty as to the claimant's loyalty by telling of an incident in which some men running the blockade had wanted to buy cotton from Anderson; Anderson had refused to sell. Robertson had worked with the petitioner and knew that he had had cotton; he testified that he had marked forty-eight bales without being paid or expecting pay for the work.²⁶

Members of Congress realized that most of the individuals who had lived in the South and remained loyal would find it impossible to file claims during the war; it was for this reason that the act provided that persons would have two years after the close of the conflict to file their claims.²⁷ The first cases involving cotton claims were heard in the

²⁵ Deposition of William Miller, June 24, 1868, National Archives record.

²⁶ Deposition of John F. Robertson, June 24, 1868, National Archives record. The question of loyalty was the issue in many cases before the Court of Claims. The court tended to be liberal in finding a claimant to have been loyal to the Union throughout the war. A favorable verdict was rendered the claimant where he did patrol duty in the home guard at night, the court holding that this duty was forced on him and was police, not military, duty, *Cornelius B. Miller et al. v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 288 (1868); where the director of a bank had subscribed to a Confederate loan drive and whose bank had subscribed, the court finding that the directors were afraid they would be removed if they failed to subscribe and that the loans had been made in Confederate money, that the claimant had been placarded in the streets as a public enemy because of his reluctance to subscribe to the loan, and that the bank was under the influence of northern men and was called the "Yankee Bank," and that the claimant had sold his bonds in about two weeks, these facts determining the outcome despite the fact that the claimant had two sons in the Confederate army, *Edward Padelford v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 316 (1868); where a river pilot was captured and made to live in the insurrectionary area a year, *Henry A. Ealer v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 372 (1868); where a man refused to bear arms against the United States but did serve in the fire patrol of Charleston subject to call as a home guard and who had obtained merchandise through the blockade for his friends, family, and Union prisoners, *Charles J. Quinby v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 417 (1868); where a claimant had a son in the Confederacy and occasionally contributed to Confederate soldiers and was a member of the home guard who actually went out in arms against Stoneman, the court holding that he had been ordered to resist as Stoneman approached Macon, *Asher Ayers v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 422 (1868).

²⁷ 12 Stat. 820, c. 120, s. 3.

December, 1866, term of the Court of Claims.²⁸ Because the act established a trust fund, no specific appropriation was required for this category of claims, and the awards by the Court of Claims showed the lenient attitude adopted by the court toward those claiming compensation from the federal government.²⁹

The case of *Anderson v. United States* was heard by the Court of Claims at its December, 1868, term. Chief Justice Joseph Casey's opinion indicated the court's finding of Anderson's ownership of the property, his loyalty, and his compliance with the law in filing his claim within the two years as prescribed by the 1863 statute.³⁰

In cases involving claims in excess of \$3,000 either the claimant or the government had the right to appeal to the United States Supreme Court; after the passage of another act on June 25, 1868, the government was permitted to appeal any decision adverse to it in the Court of Claims.³¹ Under these provisions there were many cases from the Court of Claims which could have been appealed, and it is not known why government attorneys chose Nelson Anderson's case for appeal; it was probably selected because of the number of pertinent points raised in the particular case. Questions of ownership, admissibility of testimony, loyalty, and the statute of limitations were all raised before the Court of Claims, and the answers to these questions would affect the rights of hundred of others seeking relief under the Captured and Abandoned Property Act of March 12, 1863.

Consequently, on May 22, 1869, the United States attorneys moved for an allowance of appeal to the Supreme Court, and an order allowing the appeal was granted by the Court of Claims in Washington on May 24. The transcript of the record was sent up to the high court and arguments were heard at the December, 1869, term. The opinion was affirmed on February 28, 1870.³² The Court of Claims record shows that, for the purpose of the appeal, the Anderson case was combined with three others. Arguments were consolidated and the Supreme Court, in handing down the Anderson opinion, at the same time disposed of all of these cases.³³

²⁸ See *Margaret Bond v. United States*, 2 C. Cl. Rep. 529 (1866), in which the claimant was awarded \$2,823.75, and a list of thirteen other cases with the sums awarded in each on 535-536 of Volume III of the *United States Court of Claims Reports*.

²⁹ Klingberg, *Southern Claims Commission*, 35.

³⁰ *Nelson Anderson v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 467 (1868).

³¹ 12 Stat. 766, c. 92, s. 5; 15 Stat. 75, c. 71 [s. 1].

³² See transcript of record and supporting documents in National Archives record; *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. 56 (1869).

³³ The printed Supreme Court opinion does not actually name the three additional cases, but the National Archives record does.

The three cases heard with the Anderson case were those of *Stanton v. United States*,³⁴ *Pollard v. United States*,³⁵ and *Kohn v. United States*.³⁶ The Stanton case involved cotton saved by an overseer and hidden until it was seized in October, 1862, and sold by the federal government. The claimants were three children, heirs of one Frederick Stanton, whose wife was guardian of minor children. The question of loyalty of the mother and children was involved; the Court of Claims decided that proof of loyalty was not so strong as if the children had been older but that there was no proof of acts of disloyalty. The family had the reputation of being Union people, and the court found they were entitled to recover \$51,696.16.³⁷

The Pollard case also raised the question of loyalty. William Pollard was, like Anderson, a Negro. Proof existed that he had harbored Union prisoners, aided their escape, helped Union men escape from serving in the rebel army, and helped them through the lines. He had purchased cotton in 1864 and had stored it until it had been moved by the federal government after Sherman had overrun Savannah. The men who sold the cotton to Pollard were in the service of the Confederate government, residents of Savannah. One had been a captain in the army until 1862 and the other had been deputy collector of the port of Savannah when the city was captured. The loyalty of the vendors, the question as to whether or not the sale was bona fide, and issues similar to those in Nelson Anderson's case were discussed by the Court of Claims opinion. The court found in Pollard's favor, holding the sale to be bona fide and stating that sales by rebels or transactions within rebel territory were not forbidden by the statute of July 17, 1862, a statute which provided for confiscation of specified properties and which made null and void sales by persons owning property within loyal territory who aided in the rebellion. The court found that the statute merely voided sales as against the United States. The court referred to the loyal as "the faithful few among the faithless found," and concluded that the 1863 act purposely protected them. The loyalty of the vendor was not required, and the statute of June 25, 1868, prohibiting testimony in support of claims by claimants or persons deriving title from claimants against the United States,

³⁴ *Huldah L. Stanton, Tutrix and Guardian, v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 456 (1868), hereinafter cited as *Stanton v. U.S.*

³⁵ *William Pollard v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 328 (1868), hereinafter cited as *Pollard v. U.S.*

³⁶ *Morris Kohn v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 436 (1868), hereinafter cited as *Kohn v. U.S.*

³⁷ *Stanton v. U.S.*

did not alter this interpretation. The claimant was awarded \$10,020 for the proceeds from sixty bales of upland cotton.³⁸

The third case combined with that of Anderson involved a man who, German by birth, was a naturalized citizen of the United States. Here again, the Court of Claims found the claimant to be loyal and found further that a petition filed on October 14, 1867, was within the two-year statute of limitations. Kohn was awarded \$109,771.20.³⁹

In the three cases heard with the Anderson appeal, the United States government was represented by Attorney General Ebenezer Rockwell Hoar and Special Counsel Robert S. Hale. Hoar, a graduate of Harvard Law School, had served as judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Massachusetts before resigning in 1855 to practice law. In 1859 he became associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, a post he held for a decade prior to his appointment as attorney general by Ulysses S. Grant.⁴⁰ Hale was a graduate of the University of Vermont who later studied law under Augustus C. Hand in Elizabethtown, New York, and practiced law there. After eight years as county judge and surrogate of Essex County, Hale entered private practice. In 1868 he was appointed special counsel of the Treasury Department and in that capacity handled many cases arising under the Captured and Abandoned Property Act.⁴¹

While the Supreme Court opinion shows five attorneys—T. J. D. Fuller, A. G. Riddle, George Taylor, J. A. Wills, and W. Penn Clarke—representing Anderson, only Fuller actually appeared for Anderson; the others were attorneys in the Pollard, Stanton, and Kohn cases. The names of these lawyers appear often in the opinions of the Court of Claims, and they evidently had thriving practices in Washington.

United States v. Anderson was argued before the Supreme Court of the United States at its December, 1869, term. Hoar and Hale, for the government, made the same points previously stressed in the Court of Claims. The attorneys argued that the claim, filed June 5, 1868, was too late; that when the courts were reopened and when armed aggression against government had ceased, there was no longer civil war. They contended that the rebellion was suppressed as a matter

³⁸ *Pollard v. U.S.*; 12 Stat. 590, c. 195, s. 5; 12 Stat. 820, c. 120, s. 3; 15 Stat. 75, c. 71, s. 4.

³⁹ *Kohn v. U.S.*

⁴⁰ Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928—), IX, 86-87, hereinafter cited as *Dictionary of American Biography*. After retiring from the cabinet in 1870, Hoar served a term in Congress.

⁴¹ *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 110-111. Hale also served a term in Congress in the 1870's.

of fact after Kirby Smith⁴² surrendered on May 26, 1865, and that Anderson's right to file a claim expired two years from that date. Presidential proclamations were regarded by the government attorneys as executive recognition of the fact that peace was restored; these proclamations did not in themselves create peace. They continued their argument to the effect that if an executive act was, indeed, necessary to establish the fact of suppression, then that of April 2, 1866, recognized an end to the rebellion in South Carolina and was applicable to Nelson Anderson. Because the cause of action arose in that state, the statute would run from the time the rebellion was suppressed there. They discussed other acts and proclamations relating to the war's end, arguing that they had no applicability to the Captured and Abandoned Property Act.

Hale and Hoar continued the same line of argument used in the Court of Claims when they emphasized the point that the loyalty of Fleming and Doucen, vendors to Anderson, was not proved. Residence in South Carolina was presumptive evidence that they were rebels, and a sale by them had been made void under the act of July 17, 1862. Nothing in the act of March 12, 1863, repealed provisions of the earlier confiscation act which had prohibited sales between certain specified classes of people, so the attorneys insisted. Proof of ownership meant lawful ownership, and Hale and Hoar contended Anderson had not derived legal title to the cotton. The points relating to alienage and the proper means of determining the amount of the proceeds were not stressed by the lawyers.

With regard to the two-year statute of limitations, Hoar and Hale concluded that Anderson's petition filed June 5, 1868, was barred under any available test. They cited the *Prize Cases*, 2 Black. 667, defining a state of civil war to be in existence when the course of justice was interrupted; conversely, they contended the opening of the courts and resumption of normal activity was evidence that the rebellion had ended.⁴³

Anderson's attorney and those for the Pollard, Stanton, and Kohn cases argued that the ending of the war was a legislative question and, therefore, the court should not change the date Congress had

⁴² Edmund Kirby Smith was in command of the Trans-Mississippi Department from 1862 to 1865. He received the permanent rank of general in the Provisional Army in February, 1864. Smith was almost the last Confederate general in the field; he surrendered to General E. R. S. Canby on May 26, 1865. It is interesting to note that General Smith was the last survivor of the full generals of the Confederacy. He died March 28, 1893. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* ([Baton Rouge]: Louisiana State University Press, c. 1959), 280.

⁴³ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. 56 (1869); National Archives record; 12 Stat. 590, c. 195, s. 5; 12 Stat. 820, c. 120.

recognized as the end of the war. Congressional legislation had accepted President Andrew Johnson's proclamation of August 20, 1866, as the true end of the conflict. Legislation passed March 2, 1867, had declared that earlier congressional action of June 20, 1864, providing for an increase in the pay of soldiers in the army, was to continue for three years "after the close of the rebellion, as announced by the President of the United States by proclamation, bearing date the twentieth day of August, eighteen hundred and sixty-six." This congressional recognition of the August 20 date, Anderson's lawyers contended, left no doubt that the claimant was well within the two-year period allowed for filing of claims.⁴⁴

The lines were ably drawn. The government relied on either the practical aspects of the surrender of Confederate generals or on prior court rulings to establish the legal end of the war. If the court applied any of these tests, Nelson Anderson had filed his claim too late. Anderson's attorneys, on the other hand, relied upon precedents which seemed to establish that the end of the war was a political determination which had already been made by Congress as August 20, 1866. They maintained that the court should not interfere with this date but should ratify it. If the court accepted this date, Nelson Anderson had filed his claim within the two-year period and was entitled to the return of the net proceeds from the sale of his cotton.

The opinion in the case of *United States v. Anderson* was written by Justice David Davis of Illinois. Davis, a graduate of Yale Law School and an intimate friend of Abraham Lincoln, had been appointed to the Supreme Court by Lincoln in December, 1862.⁴⁵

Justice Davis opened his opinion by reciting some of the essential provisions of the Captured and Abandoned Property Act of 1863. He noted particularly the act's application to the loyal people of the South, stating that Congress had distinguished between property owned by them and property of the disloyal. He pointed out that Congress had, in a spirit of liberality, constituted the government a trustee for so much of the property as belonged to the faithful southern people. He observed that all people of this class had the opportunity at any time within two years after the suppression of the rebellion to file their claims and establish their right to the proceeds from the sales of that portion of property they owned. All that was necessary was

⁴⁴ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. 56 (1869); National Archives record; 14 Stat. 814 (Appendix No. 4); 14 Stat. 422, c. 145, s. 2; 13 Stat. 144, c. 145.

⁴⁵ *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 110-111. Davis served as administrator of Lincoln's estate.

the establishment of ownership of the property and proof of loyalty.⁴⁶

The question of ownership had been raised in the Court of Claims, the contention being that the vendors in South Carolina were rebels prohibited from selling. Justice Davis and members of the court refused to find that the confiscation law of July 17, 1862, imposed a disability to be considered in interpreting the law of March 12, 1863. The court held that had the privilege of buying and selling been limited to loyal citizens dealing with other loyal citizens, the law would have specifically made such a provision. The law was intended to treat all alike and not to discriminate in favor of those who could trace title through loyal sources. The 1863 law extended privileges to loyal owners; it crippled rebels. The statute required that the property of friend and foe be taken, but those citizens who remained loyal would later be allowed to redeem the value of their confiscated property.⁴⁷

The competency of the vendors as witnesses had been questioned by attorneys for the government, who cited the fourth section of the June 25, 1868, act.⁴⁸ This act provided that no plaintiff or person from whom title against the United States was derived could be a competent witness in support of the claimant's cause. The Supreme Court held that Doucen and Fleming were not excluded by the rule as they had no interest in the outcome of the suit. Anderson had no claim against the United States through them because Doucen and Fleming had never had a claim against the United States. When the property was taken by the government, it belonged to Anderson. His claim was only contingent upon the proceeds from the sale of his cotton reaching the treasury.⁴⁹ Thus the question of Anderson's ownership was settled.

Of course the primary question was that involving the two-year statute of limitations. Justice Davis observed that there was nothing in the act to prevent a person from filing a claim immediately after the proceeds of the sale reached the treasury, but such action was made impossible by war. Persons who might have escaped as the Union forces took over could certainly have proceeded immediately

⁴⁶ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. at 64-69.

⁴⁷ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. at 65-67; 12 Stat. 590, c. 195, s. 5; 12 Stat. 820, c. 120.

⁴⁸ 15 Stat. 75, c. 71, s. 4.

⁴⁹ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. at 67-68 (1869). The question of the loyalty of the vendors was discussed in *Henry Wayne v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 426 (1868), a case involving a sale shortly before Savannah was taken by Sherman. The Court of Claims held that the loyalty of the vendors was not an issue, that the claimant only had to prove that he had a good title at the time the cotton was captured.

to file their claims. The important issue was concerned with the date of expiration of two years after the suppression of the rebellion. The Supreme Court held that the suppression in one locality was not tantamount to suppression of the rebellion and that an interpretation which allowed one rule for one area and a different standard for another section could not be permitted.⁵⁰

When was the rebellion entirely suppressed? Did Congress intend that all of the people in the South affected by this act take notice of the time the last Confederate general surrendered and start counting the two-year period from that date? The inherent difficulty in determining such a matter, Justice Davis held, rendered it certain that Congress did not intend for people to make such decisions for themselves. Some public proclamation or legislation was needed.

President Andrew Johnson actually issued three proclamations recognizing the end of the rebellion. That of June 13, 1865, related to Tennessee;⁵¹ that of April 2, 1866, to Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida.⁵² Though various other proclamations and acts of Congress had a bearing on the subject, Davis stated that it was only necessary to notice the presidential proclamation of August 20, 1866, and the act of Congress of March 2, 1867.⁵³ The August 20, 1866, proclamation related to Texas, and in it the President stated:

And I do further proclaim that the said insurrection is at an end, and that peace, order, tranquillity and civil authority now exist in and throughout the whole of the United States.⁵⁴

This was the first official declaration that the rebellion had been suppressed everywhere; this proclamation was accepted by Congress when, on March 2, 1867, the provision was made that the act of June 20, 1864, fixing the pay of noncommissioned officers and privates through the term of the rebellion, was to remain in force for three years after the close of the rebellion as announced by the President in his proclamation. Congress thereby, said the court, adopted August 20, 1866, as the day of close for this purpose. The Supreme Court reasoned that Congress would certainly not intend a harsher rule for claimants, and that the point of time should be construed liberally in favor of those who adhered to the Union. The court accepted the August 20,

⁵⁰ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. at 68-69.

⁵¹ 13 Stat. 763 (Appendix No. 40).

⁵² 14 Stat. 811 (Appendix No. 1).

⁵³ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. at 69-70; 14 Stat. 814 (Appendix No. 4); 14 Stat. 422, c. 145, s. 2.

⁵⁴ 14 Stat. 814 at 817 (Appendix No. 4).

1866, date as being applicable so far as rights secured by the Captured and Abandoned Property Act was concerned. Nelson Anderson, having filed his claim on June 5, 1868, had filed within the two-year period and was, therefore, entitled to receive the net proceeds of \$6,723.36, the amount determined to have been realized from the sale of his cotton. The decision of the Court of Claims was affirmed.⁵⁵

Interestingly enough, the Court of Claims had reached the same conclusion with regard to the two-year statute of limitations in a case it had heard prior to the Anderson hearing. In *Grossmayer v. United States*, the first case before the Court of Claims in which the statute of limitations was discussed, Chief Justice Casey had held that the date of the suppression of the rebellion was a political rather than a judicial question; that the President, in opening war, had exercised power under acts of February 28, 1795, and March 3, 1807, authorizing him to call out the militia; that his proclamation of April 15, 1861, had taken such action; that on April 19 and 27 he had declared a blockade of southern ports and on May 3, 1861, he had called for volunteer regiments with the result that the regular army was increased; that the proclamation of May 10 had declared martial law on the coast of Florida. The court pointed out the fact that all of this action occurred prior to the convening of Congress, but that these acts were ratified by Congress when it convened the following July 4. A congressional act of July 13, 1861, provided that the President could lawfully, by proclamation, declare a state of insurrection; later in July Congress defined the meaning of "suppression of rebellion" and other terms; on June 7, 1862, the President was authorized to declare in what states and parts of states insurrection existed; the proclamation of July 1, 1862, designated certain states as being in rebellion and again designated them in the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863. Justice Casey continued by reviewing proclamations issued as the war ended, summarizing those of June 13, 1865, April 2, 1866, and August 20, 1866, relating to the suppression of the rebellion in various areas. The court then discussed the congressional action continuing in effect pay for soldiers for three years after the close of the rebellion as announced by the President as August 20, 1866. The judiciary had no choice but to follow the decision made by Congress in adopting the presidential proclamation as the date of the close of the rebellion.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. at 70-72; 14 Stat. 422, c. 145, s. 2; 13 Stat. 144, c. 145; 14 Stat. 814 (Appendix No. 4); National Archives record.

⁵⁶ *Henry Grossmayer v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. at 5, 14-28 (1868); 1 Stat. 424, c. 36; 2 Stat. 443, c. 39; 12 Stat. 1258 (Appendix No. 3); 12 Stat. 1258 (Appendix

The Grossmayer case was the first decided under the Captured and Abandoned Property Act after provision had been made for appeals by the government of any decision adverse to it in the Court of Claims.⁵⁷ The decision granting recovery to the claimants in the Grossmayer case was reversed by the Supreme Court, but the reversal was on grounds other than the point involving the statute of limitations.⁵⁸

The Anderson opinion in the Court of Claims cited as precedent the reasoning outlined in the Grossmayer opinion.⁵⁹ The cases were heard in reverse order in the Supreme Court; there the Anderson case was decided prior to the Grossmayer case. George Taylor represented Grossmayer; he was also the attorney in the Stanton case, one of those combined with the Anderson case for purposes of appeal to the Supreme Court. Hoar and Hale represented the government in both appeals.

The Anderson case created little interest in the press, though the date set by the court was to affect the rights of many filing claims under federal legislation. The only notice carried in the *Charleston Daily Courier* appeared in the issue of March 1, 1870, under a February 28 Washington dateline:

The Supreme Court to-day in the cotton cases, appealed from the Court of Claims, took the President's Proclamation of August 20, 1866, as the date of the termination of the war. This affects many cotton cases and other litigation.⁶⁰

The *Charleston Daily News* for the same date carried exactly the same item, and two days later, that paper had a four-paragraph summary of the decision in the Anderson case and "three other similar cases" appealed from the Court of Claims. No mention was made of Nelson Anderson and the fact that he was a resident of South Carolina.⁶¹

The *Daily National Republican* of Washington summarized the decision briefly and commented, "The executive and legislative branches of the Government having united on the date, it is accepted as the actual and proper one by the judiciary."⁶² The David Davis Papers

No. 4); 12 Stat. 1259 (Appendix No. 5); 12 Stat. 1260 (Appendix No. 6); 12 Stat. 1260 (Appendix No. 7); 12 Stat. 255ff., which quotes the several congressional enactments; 12 Stat. 257, c. 3, s. 5; 12 Stat. 281, c. 25; 12 Stat. 422, c. 98, s. 2; 12 Stat. 1266 (Appendix No. 14); 12 Stat. 1268 (Appendix No. 17); 13 Stat. 763 (Appendix No. 40); 14 Stat. 811 (Appendix No. 1); 14 Stat. 814 (Appendix No. 4).

⁵⁷ *Henry Grossmayer v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. at 29; 15 Stat. 75, c. 71.

⁵⁸ *United States v. Grossmayer*, 9 Wall. 72 (1869).

⁵⁹ *Anderson v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 467 (1868).

⁶⁰ *Charleston Daily Courier* (South Carolina), March 1, 1870. Files of this newspaper for the period covering the case give no information other than this one report.

⁶¹ *Charleston Daily News* (South Carolina), March 1, 3, 1870.

⁶² *Daily National Republican* (Washington, D.C.), March 1, 1870.

contain nothing relating to the Anderson case, an indication that Justice Davis did not regard the opinion as being extraordinary.⁶³

In cases which followed the Anderson case, the Supreme Court found the date of the termination of the war in a given locality to be the pertinent date rather than the end of the conflict as a whole. The question of the end of the rebellion was considered in relation to the purpose for which the question was asked, but the Supreme Court, in the Anderson case, interpreted the law in a way which would offer loyal southerners every opportunity to present their claims.⁶⁴ In providing for recovery by those people, "Congress was renouncing a part of its strict belligerent rights as the Supreme Court understood them."⁶⁵

It is difficult to understand why the Anderson case has received so little attention in secondary works of the Reconstruction period.⁶⁶ The answer to the question concerning the end of the rebellion is itself of interest; the fact that Nelson Anderson was a Negro makes it particularly so. William Pollard, whose case was combined with Anderson's, was also a Negro; both men were draymen, property owners, dealers in cotton, southerners who remained loyal to the Union throughout the war. The attorneys who represented these men in the Supreme Court, T. J. D. Fuller and Albert Riddle, practiced law in Washington and handled many cotton cases in the Court of Claims. Both men served terms in Congress. Riddle may have had some philanthropic motive in representing a Negro because he had always been bitter in his opposition to slavery and had distinguished himself in Congress by his arguments on the bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.⁶⁷

⁶³ See David Davis Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham.

⁶⁴ Charles Gordon Post, "The Supreme Court and Political Questions," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, LIV (Number 4), 1936, 45-47. The cases cited therein are concerned with statute of limitations application in the case of liens, promissory notes, and other business matters; the Anderson case is not cited as precedent in any of these. See, for example, *Brown v. Hiatts*, 15 Wall. 177 (1872); *Batesville Institute v. Kauffman*, 18 Wall. 151 (1873); *Ross, Administrator, v. Jones*, 22 Wall. 576 (1874); and *Carroll et al. v. Green et al.*, 92 U.S. 509 (1875).

⁶⁵ James G. Randall, "Captured and Abandoned Property During the Civil War," *American Historical Review*, XIX (October, 1913), 66, hereinafter cited as Randall, "Captured and Abandoned Property."

⁶⁶ See, for example, Eric L. McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c. 1960); Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965); Joel Williamson, *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, 1861-1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, c. 1965); John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction: After the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c. 1961); Francis Butler Simkins and Robert Hilliard Woody, *South Carolina During Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931).

⁶⁷ *Who Was Who*, 193; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 591.

The claimants in the cotton cases may have been poor, unknown people, but the Court of Claims' liberality in favor of the claimants made many of them fairly well off financially, and their lawyers undoubtedly were able to collect their legal fees.⁶⁸ Reports made in May, 1868, showed gross proceeds from the sale of cotton to be \$29,518,041 and the gross for other captured and abandoned property to be \$1,309,650; the net total was \$25,257,931, over 95 percent of which was for cotton. A report of the Treasury Department showed that up to February 4, 1888, the *net* receipts from captured and abandoned property were \$26,887,584.39, with \$15,880,664.19 of this coming as receipts from the sale of cotton of individuals. The total amount paid out in judgments up to February 4, 1888, was reported as being \$9,864,300.75.⁶⁹

It is of note that no attention was given to the fact that Anderson and Pollard were Negroes. Except for five words in the Supreme Court opinion that Anderson was "a free man of color" and similar brief mentions in the papers relating to the case, the fact would be unknown. The Court of Claims handled numerous cases involving Negroes,⁷⁰ but nothing was said in any of them to indicate that there

⁶⁸ A few examples show that sums of \$51,696.16, \$18,825, \$123,138.35, \$20,736, \$76,293.60 \$35,011.68, \$2,047.52, \$50,581.60, \$262.40, \$393.60, and \$2,823.75 were awarded by the Court of Claims in the cases of *Stanton v. U.S.*, which was upheld by the Supreme Court; *Cornelius B. Miller et al. v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 288 (1868); *Edward Padelford v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 316 (1868); *Henry A. Ealer v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 372 (1868); *Charles J. Quinby v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 417 (1868); *Asher Ayers v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 422 (1868); *Henry Wayne v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 426 (1868); *Julius A. Hayden v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 475 (1868); *W. T. Oliver v. United States*, 3 C. Cl. Rep. 62 (1867); *Thomas Aiken v. United States*, 3 C. Cl. Rep. 307 (1867); and *Mary Bond v. United States*, 2 C. Cl. Rep. 529 (1866).

⁶⁹ Randall, "Captured and Abandoned Property," 69, 77, 74. The question of the effect of pardon and amnesty on the right of a claimant filing under the provisions of the Captured and Abandoned Property Act was raised in *United States v. Klein*, 13 Wall. 128 (1871). The Supreme Court adhered to the liberal interpretation of the law, holding that Congress intended to restore property to loyal owners and also to those who had been hostile but later became loyal. After the issuance of a proclamation of general amnesty, the restoration of property to all bona fide owners became the duty of the government. Therefore, all who had been dispossessed through the operation of the Captured and Abandoned Property Act were, regardless of the question of their original loyalty, entitled to full restitution. The Klein case was not decided until 1871; under the decision in the Anderson case, those unable to claim original loyalty were barred from recovery by the operation of the statute of limitations. Various bills were introduced in Congress to restore the rights of the people falling in this category, but nothing was done. As late as 1913 there was a balance of \$4,992,349.92 in the treasury from the proceeds realized under the 1863 act. The Treasury Department contended that this sum was about equal to the total value of the cotton which had belonged to the Confederate government and, therefore, there was nothing left in trust for individuals. See James G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1926), 338-340; Randall, "Captured and Abandoned Property," 78.

⁷⁰ See, for example, *Edward Fordham v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 469 (1868); *Eliza A. Habersham, Administratrix, v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 433 (1868); *Henry Wayne v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 426 (1868); *Delancy Jenkins v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 587 (1868); and *Henry G. Thomas v. United States*, 3 C. Cl. Rep. 52 (1867).

was anything unusual in this. The Anderson and Pollard cases decided in the Supreme Court's December, 1869, term, arose just twelve years after the Dred Scott decision which determined that a Negro was not a citizen and therefore had no standing in courts of the United States.⁷¹ The Anderson case was filed in the Court of Claims before the Fourteenth Amendment became effective in July, 1868.⁷²

The Anderson claim affords an opportunity to examine at first hand a case involving a Negro, one in which the claimant was treated as a complete equal without fanfare and without the benefit of constitutional amendment. It is equally of interest that the decision regarding the property of one Negro from South Carolina affected the legal rights of hundreds of other individuals filing claims under the Captured and Abandoned Property Act of March 12, 1863, claims which could have been filed at anytime prior to August 20, 1868, two years after the official determination of the day the rebellion ended.

⁷¹ *Dred Scott, Plaintiff in Error, v. John F. A. Sandford*, 19 How. 393 (1856).

⁷² J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., c. 1937), 787-789.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1852: DEATH KNELL OF THE WHIG PARTY OF NORTH CAROLINA

BY JAMES R. MORRILL*

As the United States moved inexorably toward the presidential election of 1852, every portent indicated that the political contest would center upon the ominous, persistent issue of slavery and, more particularly, upon the Compromise of 1850 and its fugitive slave law. Having become law through the efforts and support of President Millard Fillmore and of congressional moderates, northern and southern, from both major political parties, the Compromise measures had sought to eliminate slavery as a political issue; the settlement, however, had been denounced by antislavery elements and had been received only with acquiescence by the more militant champions of southern rights. As the presidential election approached, antislavery Whigs, more numerous and influential than their Democratic counterparts, sought to promote and control the candidacy of General Winfield Scott, who was not publicly committed to the Compromise. Although Scott's nomination was uncertain, northern domination of the Whig party virtually assured that the party's presidential nominee would be from that section of the country, and the presence of a vocal, significant antislavery faction within the northern wing created considerable doubt that a platform and ticket acceptable to the South would be forthcoming. The resultant anxiety among southern Whigs contrasted sharply with the confidence of southern Democrats. Since 1844 the northern wing of the Democratic party had been content, for the sake of office, to let the southern wing provide the party's leadership and platform, a situation which had tended to corroborate the claim by southern Democrats that their party was the true champion and defender of southern rights. Largely indifferent to the slavery issue, the northern wing contained a number of presidential hopefuls who were acceptable to the South. Thus the equanimity among southern Democrats and the apprehensions of southern Whigs were both well founded.

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The serious concern among southern Whigs became manifest in North Carolina during late 1851 and early 1852. While almost unanimously endorsing President Fillmore for the nomination on the basis of his support of the Compromise,¹ Whig newspaper editors and other Whig leaders suffered no illusions about his chances and thus emphasized that they would support the party's nominee only upon the essential condition that he publicly and unequivocally endorse the Compromise settlement.² Scott's strong candidacy and lack of public commitment to the Compromise clearly prompted the warning and lent urgency to it. Despite their anxieties, however, North Carolina Whigs disavowed the proposal being made in other states that the southern wing threaten to boycott the Whig national convention as a means to gain prior concessions from the North; nor did the state's Whigs support proposals to form a Union party or to seek Fillmore's election directly through the Electoral College rather than through the party machinery.³ Seeing no realistic alternative to attending the national convention, the Whig party of North Carolina was determined to secure Fillmore's nomination if possible and to strive, in any event, to make the Whig ticket and platform acceptable to the South.

By the early spring of 1852 Scott's candidacy, which antislavery

¹ Fillmore's popularity is abundantly manifest in the correspondence of North Carolina Whigs. See, for example, the numerous letters of early 1852 to William Alexander Graham in the William Alexander Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection. See also the William D. Valentine Diaries, April 26, May 13, 19, 1852, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Valentine Diaries. The *Hillsborough Recorder*, October 15, 1851, reported that every Whig newspaper in North Carolina had endorsed Fillmore, a statement which extant newspapers tend to confirm. As revealed in the *Raleigh Register's* issues of late 1851 and early 1852, every Whig public meeting in North Carolina endorsed the President for the nomination.

² For editorial comments regarding Fillmore's bleak prospects and North Carolina's insistence that the nominee endorse the Compromise, see *Raleigh Register*, November 8, 1851; *Weekly Commercial* (Wilmington), November 8, 1851, and February 12, 1852, hereinafter cited as *Commercial*; *Old North State* (Elizabeth City), November 1, 1851, and January 31, 1852, hereinafter cited as *Old North State*; *Hillsborough Recorder*, October 15, 1851; *Greensborough Patriot*, October 4, 1851; *Commercial*, January 20, 1852, quoting the *Weldon Patriot*. Pessimistic evaluations of Fillmore's chances are found in the following letters to William Alexander Graham in the Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection: Calvin Henderson Wiley to Graham, October 28, 1851; James West Bryan to Graham, January 25, 1852; William Johnston to Graham, March 25, 1852; Henry W. Miller to Graham, March 20, 1852; Charles W. Johnston to Graham, March 29, 1852. Reports concerning Whig political rallies are found in the issues of the *Raleigh Register*.

³ These proposals were being seriously considered in some southern states. Arthur Charles Cole, *The Whig Party in the South* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1913), 240-241, hereinafter cited as Cole, *Whig Party*. For a study of the Union party movement, see Cole, *Whig Party*, 174-211. For contemporary reports and North Carolina's reaction to them, see *Raleigh Register*, October 4, 1851; *Raleigh Register*, October 11, 1851, quoting the *Fayetteville Observer*; *Old North State*, November 1, 1851; *Raleigh Register*, October 15, 1851, quoting the *Wilmington Herald*.

elements ever more significantly surrounded,⁴ had become sufficiently powerful to force his name and his uncertain position regarding slavery more explicitly into the editorial columns of southern Whig newspapers. The fact of the matter was that Scott's inner convictions concerning the institution of slavery were vague and ambiguous,⁵ and his attitude toward the political settlement of the issue was also a subject of widespread conjecture and controversy. It was well known in some quarters that Scott had privately favored the passage of the Compromise measures.⁶ It was a fact of public life on the other hand that the General had never formally endorsed the Compromise. During early 1852 Winfield Scott did nothing to eliminate the doubts and uncertainty, for upon the advice of William H. Seward he continued to refrain from public commitment to the Compromise.⁷ Scott's private support of the Compromise of 1850 and his obvious political availability were sufficient inducement to woo some southerners into the General's ranks, but most southern Whigs were becoming increasingly insistent that he publicly declare himself unreservedly in favor of the Compromise settlement. In 1852, therefore, Scott's acceptability was a matter of controversy among southern Whigs as well as between Whigs and Democrats.

The dispute among North Carolina Whigs became apparent in March, 1852, when Seaton Gales, editor of the *Raleigh Register*, announced that while he preferred Fillmore as the Whig nominee, the *Register* would accept either Daniel Webster or Winfield Scott because "they both proved their devotion to it [the Compromise] whilst it was under consideration."⁸ Although Gales considered Scott's public endorsement of the Compromise to be unnecessary and although several other Whig editors began to refer to Scott sympathetically, a number of Whig newspapers indicated that they could not support the

⁴ Cole, *Whig Party*, 229. See also Frederick Bancroft, *The Life of William H. Seward* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 2 volumes, 1900), I, 301, hereinafter cited as Bancroft, *Life of Seward*.

⁵ Cole, *Whig Party*, 258-259; Edward Everett Hale, Jr., *William H. Seward* (Philadelphia: George Jacobs & Company, 1910), 209, hereinafter cited as Hale, *William H. Seward*. Cole states that Scott's "personal predilections were in full sympathy with the platform." Hale writes that Scott opposed the extension of slavery. The entire matter of Scott's views on slavery seems to be insufficiently explored.

⁶ Cole, *Whig Party*, 229; William Alexander Graham to James Graham, August 25, 1850, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Papers of William Alexander Graham* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History [projected multivolume series, 1957-], 1960), III, 370; William Alexander Graham to [?] letter fragment, June 29, 1852, William Alexander Graham Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Graham Papers, State Archives. That other North Carolina Whigs were convinced of Scott's soundness will be revealed later in this paper.

⁷ Cole, *Whig Party*, 229.

⁸ *Raleigh Register*, March 17, 1852.

General without his public approbation of the 1850 settlement.⁹ Undoubtedly most North Carolina Whigs demanded Scott's unequivocal endorsement of the Compromise,¹⁰ and until he should make such an endorsement, his candidacy aroused little enthusiasm within the state. Whig editors, in fact, noted a general apathy toward the entire matter of the presidential election.

While uncertainty and anxiety perplexed the Whigs, North Carolina Democrats faced the coming election with confidence derived from southern control of the party. The man most preferred by state Democrats for the presidential nomination was apparently James Buchanan of Pennsylvania,¹¹ but because no Democratic candidate posed a threat to the vital interests of the South, the North Carolina party did not view the nomination as a matter of immediate or dire concern. It was of some concern, however, that the balanced popularity of the chief aspirants might combine with the two-thirds rule at the Democratic national convention to thwart the ambitions of the major candidates and necessitate the selection of a compromise, "dark-horse" nominee.¹² Although such an outcome would be politically disadvantageous, traditional southern domination of the convention made the possibility less than ominous. Democratic newspapers stressed the soundness of all the party's candidates, and the editor of the *Wilmington Journal* felt confident enough to propose that the state party neither endorse a candidate nor instruct its delegates so that North Carolina could be free at the national convention to entice proposals regarding the vice-presidential nomination.¹³ Clearly North Carolina Democrats considered themselves to be in a strong position both within their own national party and with respect to the Whig opposition.

⁹ *Old North State*, April 17, 1852; *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), March 20, 1852, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Standard*, quoting the *Asheville News*; *North Carolina Standard*, March 31, 1852, quoting the *North Carolina Star* (Raleigh).

¹⁰ In the William Alexander Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, the following letters to William Alexander Graham express and/or report coolness or hostility toward Scott's candidacy: James West Bryan to Graham, January 25, 1852; James W. Osbourne to Graham, January 12, 1852; William Johnston to Graham, March 25, 1852; Henry W. Miller to Graham, March 20, 1852; Edward J. Hale to Graham, April 21, 1852; Augustine H. Shepperd to Graham, April 26, 1852; see also Dennis Heartt to Willie P. Mangum, March 31, 1852, Henry Thomas Shanks (ed.), *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 5 volumes, 1950-1956), V, 222, hereinafter cited as Shanks, *Papers of Mangum*.

¹¹ Several Democratic newspapers endorsed Buchanan. See *North Carolina Standard* January 21, 1852, quoting *Republican and Patriot* (Goldsboro), and the *Warrenton News*. See also J. R. J. Daniel to General W. A. Blount, February 12, 1852, John Gray Blount Papers, State Archives. North Carolina Democrats supported Robert Strange of North Carolina for the vice-presidential nomination.

¹² *Wilmington Journal*, November 17, 1851, and February 20, 1852.

¹³ *Wilmington Journal*, April 27, 1852.

Secure behind a host of acceptable candidates, the Democrats sought to increase Whig dissension by proclaiming Scott's unsoundness and his antislavery affiliations, by warning the southern Whigs that the General's nomination would be imposed upon them at the Whig national convention, and by chiding and condemning southern Whigs for associating with the mortal enemies of the South. As Democratic accusations and Whig misgivings about Scott's acceptability intensified, and as Scott continued to maintain silence regarding the Compromise, the Whig party machinery became ever more sorely tested. In an effort to establish confidence in the General and to prepare southern Whigs for Scott's probable nomination, a Whig congressman from North Carolina publicly addressed himself to the topic of Scott's attitude toward the Compromise. Representative Edward Stanly, who preferred Fillmore but believed Scott's nomination had become inevitable, announced in April, 1852, that he, Stanly, personally knew that Scott had favored the settlement. North Carolina Whigs, Stanly argued, wanted a nominee of "tried patriotism and unsuspected integrity," not one who wrote letters and made pledges on the eve of elections in order to solicit support.¹⁴ While generally honoring Stanly's right to his own opinions, North Carolina Whigs replied firmly that Scott's public pledge supporting the Compromise was indeed necessary to obtain their support.¹⁵

Although Stanly's insistence that Scott was sound engendered no severe criticism, the actions of Willie Person Mangum, United States Senator from North Carolina and Whig party leader, stirred resentment among North Carolina Whigs and clearly revealed the difficulties within the party's southern wing. In early April Senator Mangum, who was personally convinced of Scott's soundness, announced from the Senate floor that he actually preferred Scott over Fillmore for the Whig presidential nomination.¹⁶ Furthermore, on April 20 Mangum presided at a Whig congressional caucus and ruled that an endorsement of the Compromise was out of order because the matter lay within the purview of the Whig national convention rather than

¹⁴ Stanly's public letter dated April 6, 1852, can be found in the *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), April 22, 1852, hereinafter cited as *Carolina Watchman*. An inaccurately printed version is in the *Raleigh Register*, April 14, 1852.

¹⁵ *North Carolina Standard*, April 28, 1852, quoting the *North Carolina Star* and the *Newbernian* (New Bern), hereinafter cited as *Newbernian*; *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 21, 1852.

¹⁶ The speech is found in Shanks, *Papers of Mangum*, V, 726-737. Mangum emphasized Scott's political availability and soundness.

within that of the caucus.¹⁷ The majority sustaining Mangum's ruling included Edward Stanly and James Turner Morehead of North Carolina. Following the vote, a number of southern Whig congressmen, including David Outlaw and Thomas Lanier Clingman of North Carolina, withdrew from the caucus in protest against the ruling. The opposition by Mangum, Stanly, and Morehead to the introduction of the endorsement resolution was procedural in nature and in no way constituted a substantive rejection of the Compromise of 1850, but their parliamentary position apparently escaped some North Carolina Whigs. Mangum, who made the ruling and who had previously proclaimed his preference for Scott, underwent a barrage of criticism which was intensified by the insistence of Outlaw and Clingman that the caucus had indeed been authorized to entertain the endorsement resolution.¹⁸ Trying to muffle the dispute and maintain party unity, North Carolina Whig editors insisted that all persons involved had acted from sincere, honorable, and disinterested—if conflicting—convictions;¹⁹ but mutterings could be heard, despite Mangum's announced intention to retire, that the Senator had sold himself to Scott for the vice-presidential nomination.²⁰

Amid the controversy surrounding events in Washington, the North Carolina Whig convention met at Raleigh on April 26-27.²¹ The adopted platform expressed devotion to the Union; endorsed Millard

¹⁷ For accounts of the Whig caucus of April 20, 1852, see *Congressional Globe*, Thirty-second Congress, First Session (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Globe Office, 1852), 1158; *Greensborough Patriot*, May 1, 1852; *Raleigh Register*, April 28, May 5, 22, 1852.

¹⁸ The eleven men who withdrew from the caucus published a letter in late April in an effort to justify their action. The letter is in the *Raleigh Register*, May 5, 1852.

¹⁹ *Old North State*, April 24, 1852; *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 28, 1852; *Greensborough Patriot*, May 8, 1852; *Commercial*, May 1, 1852; *Raleigh Register*, April 28, 1852.

²⁰ Later at the Whig national convention the Scott forces did approach Mangum about the vice-presidential nomination, but Mangum declined. As Mangum wrote privately after the convention: "The nominations are made and are right—I might have been second but declined — The ill temper of No. Caro. is such that I thought it might hazard the vote.—" Willie Person Mangum to Martha P. Mangum, June 23, 1852, Shanks, *Papers of Mangum*, V, 234. For immediate criticism of Mangum's speech of April 15, see *Old North State*, April 24, 1852; *Carolina Watchman*, April 29, 1852, quoting the *Goldsboro Telegraph*; *Old North State*, May 15, 1852, quoting the *Newbernian*; *North Carolina Standard*, April 28, 1852, quoting the *Raleigh Times* and the *Wilmington Herald*; *Commercial*, May 11, 1852, quoting the *North Carolina Argus* (Wadesboro); *Greensborough Patriot*, May 8, 1852; *Raleigh Register*, April 28, 1852; *Carolina Watchman*, April 24, 1852, quoting the *Fayetteville Observer*; *Commercial*, April 22, 1852. For private expressions of disapproval, see William Alexander Graham to James West Bryan, April 17, 1852, Bryan Papers, Southern Historical Collection; James W. Osbourne to Edward J. Hale, May 29, 1852, Edward J. Hale Papers, State Archives; Augustine H. Shepperd to William Alexander Graham, April 26, 1852, Graham Papers, State Archives.

²¹ The official account of the Whig state convention is found in the *Raleigh Register*, May 1, 1852.

Fillmore for the presidential nomination and William Alexander Graham of North Carolina for the vice-presidential nomination;²² promised that the Whig party of North Carolina would support any nominee who was unequivocally in favor of the Compromise as a final settlement; and warned that no presidential or vice-presidential nominee could obtain the vote of the Whig party of North Carolina unless he were "beyond doubt" in favor of maintaining all the Compromise measures. The North Carolina Whigs thus contributed to the increasing pressure which the South was bringing to bear upon Winfield Scott.

Southern pressure, however, seemed unable to break the General's silence, and as the Whig national convention approached, Whig fears and disaffection became more pronounced. A number of party leaders, including David Outlaw and Thomas Clingman, indicated that they could not support Scott under existing circumstances.²³ Thomas Loring, editor of the *Wilmington Commercial*, proclaimed irrevocable opposition to Scott and proposed that if the General should be nominated, North Carolina thereupon field an independent ticket consisting of Fillmore and Graham.²⁴ Alarmed at the threatened defection, other Whig editors expressed confidence in Scott's soundness and urged calm and restraint among party members.²⁵ On the eve of the national convention one faction of North Carolina Whigs was convinced of Scott's soundness, another of his unsoundness, while the majority remained uncertain²⁶ and, to some extent, apathetic about his candidacy.

Also by the time of the national convention, southern pressure upon Scott had begun to produce significant results. As convention delegates converged upon Washington and the convention city of Baltimore,²⁷ Scott began to abandon his antislavery advisers and to give

²² Graham's name was being widely mentioned in other states for the vice-presidential nomination.

²³ David Outlaw to Joseph B. G. Roulhac, April 23, 1852, Ruffin-Roulhac-Hamilton Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Ruffin-Roulhac-Hamilton Papers; Outlaw's speech of June 10, 1852, in the House of Representatives reported in *North Carolina Standard*, May 15, 1852. For other signs of defection see John Kerr to William Alexander Graham, May 22, 1852, Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection; Valentine Diaries, April 26, 1852; *Commercial*, May 4, 1852; *Raleigh Register*, May 12, 1852; *Raleigh Register*, May 19, 1852, quoting the *Fayetteville Observer*; *Carolina Watchman*, June 3, 1852.

²⁴ *Commercial*, May 4, 1852.

²⁵ *Raleigh Register*, May 19, 1852; *Carolina Watchman*, June 3, 1852; *Old North State*, June 5, 12, 1852; *Greensborough Patriot*, May 8, 1852.

²⁶ An illustration of Whig uncertainty regarding Scott is found in the Valentine Diaries, May 13, 1852. Valentine writes that while Scott is "perhaps" in favor of the Compromise, "many do not like to take him under an uncertainty."

²⁷ A detailed, although incomplete account of the Whig national convention can be found in the July 1, 1852, issue of the *Signal* (Washington, D.C.), a Whig news-

oral and written private assurances that he would accept a party platform which contained an endorsement of the Compromise of 1850.²⁸ Encouraged by these assurances but far from sanguine about the convention prospects, the southern delegates caucused on the night of June 15 and issued therefrom an ultimatum demanding the convention's unequivocal endorsement of the Compromise as the price for continued southern participation.²⁹ The intense southern pressure subsequently secured a number of concessions from the convention, which convened on June 16. By a vote of 199 to 97 the delegates yielded to southern insistence that the convention adopt the platform prior to receiving nominations. A northern resolution that each state be represented on the platform committee by the state's Electoral College strength was withdrawn as a result of adamant southern opposition. Most importantly, the platform presented to the convention was one which called for the cessation of antislavery agitation and pledged the Whig party to "acquiesce" in the fugitive slave law and the other Compromise measures as a final settlement.³⁰ When it became apparent that the platform would be adopted, a number of antislavery delegates withdrew in protest from the convention hall. The subsequent adoption of the platform, by a vote of 226 to 66, divorced the Whig party from the antislavery movement and thus preserved the national character of the party.

The southern delegations, which were determined and obligated to support Fillmore, could only acknowledge that the South had been well treated on several crucial matters. Thus as the balloting began, the southern commitment to Fillmore was qualified by a tacit political debt to the northern wing. Despite the obligation, the South presented an almost unbroken front for Fillmore through forty-seven ballots, during which the President and Scott maintained a rough parity while a small Webster faction prevented either major candidate from obtaining a majority. The Webster men, who were without instructions

paper published during the campaign by George S. Gideon. A bound volume of the issue is in the Louis R. Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. A descriptive account of the convention is in Cole, *Whig Party*, 245-258.

²⁸ David Outlaw to Joseph B. G. Roulhac, April 23, 1852, Ruffin-Roulhac-Hamilton Papers; Cole, *Whig Party*, 248, 252.

²⁹ Cole, *Whig Party*, 228, 245.

³⁰ The word "final" was omitted in the early editions of the platform, and the omission became something of an issue in the South. Northern Whig editors hastened to assure the South that the word "final" had appeared in the official platform, and that the omission had occurred when reporters had failed to hear the word "final" above the noise of the convention hall. It is probable that the word continued to be deleted in the North while in the South "final" quickly appeared within the text of the platform. One may find today both versions of the platform. See *Wilmington Journal*, June 28, 1852; *Raleigh Register*, June 30, 1852.

from Webster,³¹ spurned southern overtures, while Scott's agents, both before and after the adoption of the platform, worked quietly and persuasively upon individual southerners to whom the General had given private assurances.³² The results of these negotiations first became evident in the pro-Compromise platform and, subsequently, upon the forty-eighth presidential ballot, when three Missouri delegates shifted to Scott. On the fifty-third ballot the General secured the nomination with the vital support of eight votes from Virginia, three from Missouri, and three from Tennessee. The North Carolina delegation remained steadfast for Fillmore until the end but joined in making the nomination unanimous after a Virginia delegate read to the convention a private letter from Scott which pledged endorsement of the platform. The vice-presidential nomination subsequently went, on the second ballot, to William Alexander Graham of North Carolina, for whom the state's ten delegate votes were enthusiastically cast. Following the convention's adjournment Winfield Scott formally accepted the nomination and the platform, and thereby irrevocably severed his connections with the antislavery movement.³³ Secretary of the Navy Graham, who had preferred Fillmore but believed Scott sound, accepted the second place on the ticket.³⁴

North Carolina Whigs had cause for distress over Fillmore's defeat, but they had reasons also for satisfaction and relief. Southern intransigence had secured an acceptable platform and Scott's endorsement of it, and Graham's nomination was especially gratifying to the North Carolina party. Many Whigs, therefore, counted their blessings and privately acknowledged that the South had fared well considering the circumstances.³⁵ Despite the northern concessions, however, numerous Whigs received Scott's nomination with bitter disappointment, and some swore that they would abstain from the election or even vote Democratic.³⁶ Although Scott's unqualified acceptance of

³¹ *Wilmington Journal*, June 25, 1852. When Webster's men wired Webster for advice or instructions, he replied, "I have nothing to say."

³² Cole, *Whig Party*, 250, 253, 254, 255.

³³ Bancroft, *Life of Seward*, I, 303; Hale, *William H. Seward*, 210-211. Seward was bitterly disappointed at Scott's actions before and during the convention and in the General's unqualified acceptance of the platform.

³⁴ For Graham's opinions regarding Fillmore and Scott see the numerous correspondence to and from him in the Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection. The letters to Graham, particularly those written after the Whig national convention, allude to statements which Graham had previously made.

³⁵ Valentine Diaries, June 26, 28, 1852; S. S. Webb to Joseph B. G. Roulhac, June 28, 1852, Ruffin-Roulhac-Hamilton Papers.

³⁶ Numerous letters of late June and July, 1852, to William Alexander Graham express and/or describe Whig disappointment and defection over Scott's nomination. See the Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection and State Archives; Valentine Diaries, July 2, 1852.

the platform, together with Graham's presence on the ticket, gradually soothed some misgivings,³⁷ a segment of the Whig party of North Carolina remained unreconciled to the nomination of a man who had been associated with Seward and who had only belatedly endorsed the Compromise as a means to obtain the nomination. A prominent irreconcilable was Thomas Loring of the *Wilmington Commercial*, who, having warned prior to the convention that he would not support Scott, announced that despite the General's endorsement of the platform, the *Commercial* would oppose Scott's election because the Whig nominee was surrounded by antislavery elements and because southern rights took precedence over political affiliation.³⁸ After the *Asheville News*, reflecting the views of Thomas Clingman, expressed keen disappointment at Scott's nomination,³⁹ Thomas Loring encouraged western dissidents to take the lead in forming an independent Fillmore-Graham ticket. In the weeks immediately following the convention, however, no such action was forthcoming, and other Whig editors closed ranks around Scott and emphasized his acceptance of the platform. The existence of disaffection and defection of undetermined proportions gnawed nevertheless at the confidence and the prospects of the Whig party.

The Democratic party of North Carolina, which delighted at Scott's nomination, had, meanwhile, held its state convention and had participated in the party's national convention. Meeting at Raleigh on May 13,⁴⁰ the state convention expressed a willingness to "adhere" to the Compromise; insisted that the South's rights be observed; and warned that the Democratic party of North Carolina would refuse to support any nominee who failed to express "full, prompt, and explicit" approval of the fugitive slave law. Exuding confidence concerning the nominations and mindful of the advantages of remaining uncommitted, the delegates refrained from endorsing a presidential candidate. It was only after the convention had adjourned that some Whig leaders voiced regrets and misgivings that North Carolina's failure to endorse James Buchanan had perhaps seriously damaged his prospects at the national convention.⁴¹

Approximately thirty delegates and alternates from North Carolina attended the Democratic national convention, which convened in

³⁷ The letters referred to in the preceding footnote also stress that Graham's presence on the ticket was beneficial and reassuring.

³⁸ *Commercial*, June 22, 24, 1852.

³⁹ *North Carolina Standard*, quoting the *Asheville News*.

⁴⁰ The official account of the Democratic state convention is in the *North Carolina Standard*, May 15, 1852.

⁴¹ *Wilmington Journal*, May 28, 1852.

Baltimore on June 1.⁴² Southern delegates unanimously supported the adoption of the two-thirds rule, which passed by a vote of 273 to 13 and thus required 192 votes for nomination. The entire North Carolina delegation supported a motion that the platform be adopted prior to the nominations, a motion which northern and southern moderates, who feared a divisive platform struggle, combined to defeat by a vote of 155 to 123. The subsequent balloting for the presidential nomination resulted in exactly what the Democrats had feared: the inability of any candidate to obtain the required number of votes. For thirty-three ballots the North Carolina delegates generally supported Buchanan, with individual votes occasionally cast for Stephen A. Douglas in an unsuccessful effort to break the deadlock. On the night of June 4 North Carolina participated in a pro-Buchanan caucus, which concluded that the Pennsylvanian could hope to win only after every other candidate had proved unable to obtain the nomination.⁴³ To secure Buchanan's nomination if possible, and, in any event, to break the deadlock in favor of an acceptable candidate, the caucus agreed that the delegations from North Carolina, Virginia, and Mississippi would test the air with the flags of other candidates. The next day found North Carolina supporting William L. Marcy of New York from the thirty-sixth through the forty-eighth ballot. As Buchanan's prospects failed to brighten, North Carolina's delegation, after consultation with the other southern delegations, threw its entire strength to Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, whom Virginia had nominated on the thirty-fifth ballot and who was acceptable to the South because of his endorsement of the Compromise and his staunch defense of southern rights. In announcing North Carolina's switch to Pierce, James C. Dobbin made a dramatic appeal which stampeded the weary convention and secured Pierce's nomination on the forty-ninth ballot.⁴⁴ On the second ballot the vice-presidential nomination went to William Rufus King of Alabama. The platform, which was

⁴² An account of the Democratic national convention is in the *North Carolina Standard*, June 5, 12, 1852. An excellent descriptive account of events in Baltimore (and Washington) is found in Roy Franklin Nichols, *The Democratic Machine, 1850-1854* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company [Number 248 of *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, 605 Studies, 1897-1962]), 131-144, hereinafter cited as Nichols, *Democratic Machine*.

⁴³ Nichols, *Democratic Machine*, 137-138; Roy Franklin Nichols, *Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), 207, hereinafter cited as Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*. This is the definitive biography of Franklin Pierce.

⁴⁴ Dobbin's speech can be found in the *North Carolina Standard*, June 16, 1852, and in J. G. de Rouillac Hamilton, *Party Politics in North Carolina, 1835-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press [Volume XV of *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1916), 154, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Party Politics*.

already known to everyone but which was formally announced after the nominations had been made, declared that Congress had no power to interfere with slavery in the states; stated that all further antislavery agitation should be resisted; opposed renewal of anti-slavery agitation in Congress; and promised enforcement of the Compromise measures, including the fugitive slave law. Thus the 1852 Democratic convention had adopted a platform and nominated a ticket acceptable to the South. North Carolina Democrats took satisfaction from the fact that the state's delegation had acquitted itself with finesse and distinction.

Neither party's southern wing, in fact, could seriously quarrel with the national platforms, for despite differences of wording and despite the inevitable campaign accusations, both the Democratic party and the Whig party had chosen to abide by the Compromise of 1850. The greatest handicap faced by southern Whigs was the nomination of a man who had been associated with antislavery elements and who had publicly endorsed the Compromise only after the nomination had been tendered. The largest problem confronting the Democrats was the nomination of an obscure, compromise candidate who was almost completely unknown in the South. Because its presidential nominee rather than its platform was each party's chief vulnerability, the campaign quickly and primarily became one of vituperative assaults upon the character, qualifications, and soundness of both Scott and Pierce. The initial Whig attack emphasized the very obscurity of Franklin Pierce, an obscurity which candor—if not politics—could only concede and which had thoroughly shocked North Carolina Democrats.⁴⁵ The obvious and immediate task of Democratic editors, therefore, was to make Pierce known to his own party and to extol his virtues and qualifications. Thus the inevitable process of exaggeration began its tortured course. Pierce was, in fact, a party regular who had served without distinction in both houses of Congress and also without notoriety as a general in the Mexican War. Fearful of what the slavery issue could do to Democratic unity, he had unhesitatingly defended the rights of the South and, in particular, had advocated strict enforcement of the fugitive slave law. Pierce's obscurity and soundness challenged the Whigs to discover or manufacture specific charges against him. In addition to the continuous comments regarding Pierce's undistinguished career, three major accusations came to be leveled at him: first, that he had displayed cowardice during combat in Mexico;

⁴⁵ For a description of Democratic disappointment at Pierce's nomination, see Valentine Diaries, June 11, 1852.

second, that in early 1852 he alone among Democratic presidential candidates had failed to respond to a southern inquiry regarding the fugitive slave law; and third, that in New Boston, New Hampshire, in January, 1852, he had told an audience that he considered the fugitive slave law to be "inhumane." The cowardice accusation was a campaign distortion of an incident in which Pierce had fainted from exhaustion and the pain of a knee injury. Pierce's failure to reply to the inquiry regarding the fugitive slave law stemmed primarily from his own refusal to consider himself a candidate. His New Boston statement was an emotional response to antislavery hecklers and did not accurately reflect his true convictions.⁴⁶ The Whig Party squeezed the three accusations for all the political advantage which they might contain, while the Democratic newspapers sought to refute the charges and convince the public of Pierce's merits and soundness. At the same time, of course, the Democrats were relentlessly castigating the Whig presidential nominee.

The presidential campaign inevitably became a feature of the North Carolina gubernatorial election, which, as the first state election in the country following the national conventions, was considered both by persons inside and outside the state as a barometer for the national contest.⁴⁷ During a series of debates with Whig gubernatorial nominee John Kerr, David Settle Reid, the Democratic incumbent, eulogized Pierce, accepted the Compromise, and charged that Scott had no qualifications for office and had been nominated by Seward. Kerr endorsed the Compromise, declared Scott to be a friend of the South, and accused Pierce of cowardice and unsoundness.⁴⁸ If the debates were unnoteworthy for their originality, the newspapers ascribed great and direct national significance to the gubernatorial race. The *Raleigh Register* informed its readers that a vote for Kerr was a vote for Scott, while a vote for Reid was a vote for Pierce, "who LOATHES the Fugitive Slave Law!"⁴⁹ The *North Carolina Standard*, on the other hand, warned that Seward was closely watching the North Carolina election, that a vote for Kerr was indeed a vote for Scott, and that a vote for Scott in 1852 constituted a vote for Seward in 1856.⁵⁰ Reid's August

⁴⁶ Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*, 192, 201-202; for other details concerning Pierce's career relative to the campaign, see 29-30, 41, 47, 53-54, 57-59, 73, 90, 98, 101-105, 110-111, 115-120, 151-159, 172, 175.

⁴⁷ Valentine Diaries, August 4, 1852; William Alexander Graham to John Barnett, July 6, 1852, copy in Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection; *North Carolina Standard*, August 18, 1852, quoting the *Richmond Enquirer*.

⁴⁸ *North Carolina Standard*, June 26, July 3, 7, 17, 21, 24, 1852. For other accounts of these debates see the June and July, 1852, issues of the *Raleigh Register*.

⁴⁹ *Raleigh Register*, August 4, 1852.

⁵⁰ *North Carolina Standard*, July 28, 1852.

victory by a vote of 48,567 to 43,003 delighted Democrats and perplexed Whigs not only in North Carolina but elsewhere as well.⁵¹ North Carolina Democrats insisted that Pierce's popularity had contributed to Reid's victory, while the Whigs argued that state rather than national issues had caused Kerr's defeat. Undoubtedly the national campaign played a subordinate role in the gubernatorial outcome, but despite Whig expressions of confidence and renewed dedication, the sharp defeat dealt the party's national aspirations yet another blow. The Whig mood could not have been improved by the *Wilmington Commercial's* assertion that Kerr's defeat was attributable to Scott's nomination.⁵²

The North Carolina Whigs had to contend not only with the Democrats but also with worsening conditions within their own party leadership. Whig Congressman James Caldwell clearly intended to boycott the campaign;⁵³ Representative David Outlaw's position was uncertain, but he seemed decidedly unenthusiastic about the presidential nominee;⁵⁴ Thomas Clingman was firmly exerting himself against his own Whig party;⁵⁵ the *Asheville News*, publicly reflecting Clingman's unofficial defection, announced in early July that it would support the Democratic rather than the Whig ticket;⁵⁶ and in August Thomas Loring, who praised the *News's* decision to support Pierce but who was committed to the formation of an independent party, joined with a number of other eastern Whigs to establish a National Republican party.⁵⁷ Because President Fillmore had previously dissociated himself from all third party movements, the National Republicans raised the standard of Webster and Graham. Although Graham quickly

⁵¹ *North Carolina Standard*, August 18, 21, 25, 1852; *Carolina Watchman*, August 26, 1852; Edward Stanly to William Alexander Graham, August 17, 1852, Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

⁵² *Commercial*, August 14, 1852.

⁵³ David Lowry Swain to William Alexander Graham, July 6, 1852, and T. M. Blount to William Alexander Graham, August 16, 1852, Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection; Asa Biggs to David Settle Reid, August 23, 1852, David Settle Reid Papers, State Archives; William Alexander Graham to Samuel F. Patterson, August 25, 1852, Lindsay Patterson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Patterson Papers.

⁵⁴ T. M. Blount to William Alexander Graham, August 16, 1852, Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection; William Alexander Graham to Samuel F. Patterson, August 25, 1852, Patterson Papers; Valentine Diaries, July 15, 1852.

⁵⁵ See the following letters to William Alexander Graham in Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection: David Lowry Swain to Graham, July 6, 1852; James W. Osbourne to Graham, July 23, 1852; William W. Morrison to Graham, August 3, 1852; Edward Stanly to Graham, August 17, 1852. Clingman encouraged the *Asheville News* to abandon the Whig ticket, he encouraged his friends in the First District to oppose Scott, and he circulated pamphlets which described Whig dissatisfaction in other southern states.

⁵⁶ *Commercial*, July 19, 1852, quoting the *Asheville News*.

⁵⁷ *Commercial*, August 10, 1852.

asked that his name be withdrawn,⁵⁸ it continued for several weeks thereafter to appear on the National Republican ticket printed in the *Commercial*. The founding of the independent ticket elicited considerable criticism among party regulars, but Whig editors generally used moderation and sweet reason in an effort to bring vacillating and alienated Whigs into line. Actually, Loring's activities worried Whig leaders far less than did those of Clingman, for the latter's First District was a traditional Whig stronghold and was, in the opinion of many persons, the key to the election.⁵⁹ In early October, Whig fears were realized when Clingman, stressing Scott's antislavery associations, formally divorced himself from the party and announced himself in favor of the Democratic ticket.⁶⁰ Whig newspapers accused Clingman of trying to seek a United States senatorship through the Democratic party.⁶¹ Whigs contemptuously read Clingman out of the party which he had already abandoned because, he contended, it no longer sufficiently protected southern rights and interests.

Faced with overt defection, the Whig organization worked all the more feverishly to rally the party behind the national ticket. Whig editors stressed the party's platform and Scott's acceptance of it; Whig political rallies, outnumbering those of the Democrats, expressed confidence in the party's nominee; and Whig speakers took to the stump for Scott in generous numbers. In early August the North Carolina Whigs were encouraged by the arrival of William Alexander Graham, who had resigned as Secretary of the Navy subsequent to his nomination at the Whig national convention. Although Graham, in accordance with political custom, did not publicly campaign, he did correspond privately with Whig leaders, and his presence at Hillsborough lent prestige to his party's efforts. After Congress adjourned at the end of August, several other prominent Whigs returned to the state. Among the arrivals was Senator Willie Mangum, who, upon encountering lingering resentment, limited himself to modest campaigning for Scott in the Raleigh area.⁶² After several weeks in New

⁵⁸ See Graham's letter dated August 24, 1852, in the *Commercial*, August 31, 1852, and also in the *Raleigh Register*, September 1, 1852.

⁵⁹ William Alexander Graham to Samuel F. Patterson, August 25, 1852, Patterson Papers; James W. Osbourne to William Alexander Graham, July 23, 1852, and Samuel F. Patterson to William Alexander Graham, September 2, 1852, Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection; Nicholas W. Woodfin to David Lowry Swain, August 17, 1852, Walter Clark Papers, State Archives; W. T. Alston to Willie Person Mangum, September 21, 1852, Shanks, *Papers of Mangum*, V, 240-241.

⁶⁰ See Clingman's public letter in the *North Carolina Standard*, October 8, 1852.

⁶¹ After joining the Democratic party in 1852 Clingman did serve as a United States senator from North Carolina.

⁶² For Mangum's reception and activities in North Carolina, see the following in Shanks, *Life of Mangum*, V: W. T. Alston to Willie Person Mangum, September 21,

York, Edward Stanly campaigned effectively for Scott in North Carolina. Whig Senator Edmund Badger, whose attitude toward Scott had been a matter of continuous conjecture, made clear in September that he supported the party's nominees.⁶³ Although a physical malady limited Badger's campaigning,⁶⁴ his endorsement of the Whig ticket deprived the Democrats of campaign fodder and bolstered Whig morale. Another victory for party unity came in late September when Representative David Outlaw formally endorsed Scott and, shortly thereafter, embarked upon a series of speeches which stressed the General's acceptance of the Whig platform.⁶⁵ If Outlaw's commitment constituted a triumph for party discipline, so did the collapse of the National Republican movement. At a poorly attended meeting on October 1, Graham's name was replaced by that of Charles Jenkins of Georgia, a man whose presence on the ticket hardly enhanced the party's bleak prospects. On October 11 the organization disbanded itself for want of interest or support.⁶⁶ Thomas Loring attributed his participation in the movement to pressure from other dissatisfied Whigs; thereafter the *Commercial* abstained from the campaign.

Political apathy had permeated not only the thin ranks of the National Republicans but also had thoroughly invaded the camps of both major parties. Whig leaders privately acknowledged that the masses were unenthusiastic toward Scott and the whole matter of the election. The Democrats encountered stubborn indifference which stemmed in part from overconfidence and in part from the fact that Franklin Pierce generated no excitement among North Carolinians. Democratic newspapers continued to proclaim and exaggerate his virtues and to defend him from attack speakers extolled his qualifications; rallies adopted resolutions which praised his attributes. Beneath the sound and fury, however, lay political lethargy which was as easy to understand as it was to detect. The campaign had, in fact, become threadbare long before election day. By the end of August the issues—

1852, 240-241; Seaton Gales to Willie Person Mangum, September 23, 1852, 242; Martha Person Mangum to Mary S. Mangum, September 29, 1852, 244; E. F. Lilly to Edward J. Hale, September 22, 1852, 241-242. See also the *Hillsborough Recorder*, September 22, 1852.

⁶³ See Badger's public letter dated September 21, 1852, in *Raleigh Register*, September 25, 1852. Badger's biographer states that "in all probability" Badger's endorsement of Scott was "nothing more than campaign talk." Lawrence Foushee London, "The Public Career of George Edmund Badger" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1936), 190, hereinafter cited as London, "Career of Badger."

⁶⁴ London, who does not mention Badger's physical debility, states that Badger's failure to campaign actively "may indicate his lack of enthusiasm for Scott." London, "Career of Badger," 190.

⁶⁵ *Raleigh Register*, October 6, 1852.

⁶⁶ *Commercial*, October 14, 1852.

of lack of them—and the personalities were well known, the accusations had all been leveled, and the rebuttals had all been made. The empty, repetitious rhetoric of the newspapers clearly revealed the shortage of meaningful campaign material, a shortage which even further encouraged invective and abuse. The *Wilmington Commercial* noted wryly that a foreigner would think the parties had nominated “the greatest scamps in the country.”⁶⁷ Making the same observation and undoubtedly reflecting the views of many men of both parties, one Whig wrote that “quiet, fraternal men” would be relieved when the campaign of slander had ended.⁶⁸

The campaign did indeed come wearily to an end on November 2, when the Democratic ticket narrowly carried North Carolina by the vote of 39,744 to 39,058.⁶⁹ Taken by themselves, these figures would seem to indicate that the Whigs, in view of their difficulties, did well for Winfield Scott. A comparison of the returns with those of two previous elections, however, establishes that the Whigs abandoned Scott in significant numbers and that the election’s closeness resulted from Democratic overconfidence and from indifference toward Franklin Pierce. The Whig party’s misgivings about its 1852 presidential nominee are clearly revealed by the fact that North Carolina had cast 43,715 votes for Whig presidential nominee Zachary Taylor in 1848 and by the fact that the Whig gubernatorial candidate had received 43,003 votes in August, 1852. Having been significantly greater in 1848 than it was in November, 1852, Whig strength had still been evident as late as the summer of 1852. The returns of the 1852 presidential election clearly mark a decline in the stature of the Whig party of North Carolina, a decline attributable in no small part to the unpopularity of Winfield Scott which Graham’s presence on the ticket could not overcome.

Democratic overconfidence and apathy are also revealed by a comparison of election statistics. Although the Democratic vote in the 1848 presidential election had been only 35,566—more than 4,000 votes below the 1852 presidential vote—the Democratic vote in the

⁶⁷ *Commercial*, September 7, 1852.

⁶⁸ Valentine Diaries, September 25, October 22, 1852.

⁶⁹ The vote has been compiled from the county returns given in the *North Carolina Standard*, November 17, 1852, and in R. D. W. Connor (comp. and ed.), *A Manual of North Carolina . . . , 1913* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1913), 985-986, hereinafter cited as *Manual*, 1913. It should be noted that while the county returns in the *Manual*, 1913, are correct, the total returns for the presidential elections of 1848 and 1852 and of the gubernatorial election of 1852 (997-998) are incorrectly added. Those arithmetical errors have caused Scott to be listed in the *Manual*, 1913, as the winner in North Carolina in 1852. Using these incorrect totals, Hamilton, *Party Politics*, 150, has been misled to state that Scott carried North Carolina.

gubernatorial election of 1852 was 48,567, almost 9,000 more votes than the state cast for Franklin Pierce three months later. While state issues would influence the gubernatorial returns,⁷⁰ the sudden, dramatic decrease in Democratic strength between August and November must be largely attributed to indifference toward Pierce and to the Democratic conviction that Scott would not carry North Carolina. The small vote for Pierce would suggest also that most anti-Scott Whigs preferred to boycott the campaign rather than to vote for the Democratic ticket.

An examination of the 1852 presidential returns reveals also that the defection of Thomas Lanier Clingman was indeed a decisive political event. The First District cast 1,825 fewer votes for Scott than for Taylor, a decrease more than three times that of any other district; the First District's vote for Scott was 2,422 below the District's 1852 Whig gubernatorial vote, a decline almost five times that of any other district. The defection of Clingman (and of other North Carolina Whigs) illustrates southern gravitation away from the Whig party, a gravitation accelerated by the nomination of Winfield Scott.

The plight of the Whig party was indeed a national phenomenon. By dissociating the party from the antislavery movement, the Whig national convention of 1852 had preserved the party's national character, but that achievement quickly turned to ashes. Divided seriously over the slavery issue, the northern wing faced a powerful, largely united Democratic opposition; divided over Scott's acceptability despite his endorsement of the Whig platform and ever conscious of the strong antislavery element among northern Whigs, southern Whigs were in an increasingly untenable political position. Confronted with these difficulties, the Whig party was able to carry only Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Tennessee for Winfield Scott. As part of the general collapse, the Whig party of North Carolina went into a decline from which it did not recover. Although neither the state nor the national party completely disappeared for another several years, Winfield Scott was the last Whig presidential nominee. By 1856 the agitation of the slavery issue had restructured the political spectrum in such a way as to preclude the existence of two viable national parties. The demise of the Whig party as a national organization preceded by only several years the fragmentation of the Democratic party, and the disappearance of national parties was a prelude to civil war.

⁷⁰ The Democratic party advocated that the possession of fifty acres of land be eliminated as a qualification for voting for members of the state Senate. David Settle Reid had won the gubernatorial election of 1850 as a champion of free suffrage and in August, 1852, he was, as indicated in the text, reelected.

"RUSSELLBOROUGH": TWO ROYAL GOVERNORS' MANSION AT BRUNSWICK TOWN

BY STANLEY A. SOUTH*

Early in September, 1748, Spanish ships sailed twelve miles into the Cape Fear River and attacked the little town of Brunswick, taking possession of all of the vessels in the harbor and plundering the town for three days before being driven away by townspeople under the leadership of William Dry. During the rout of the invaders from the town, the Spanish ship "Fortuna" blew up and sank in the harbor, killing Captain Vincent Lopez, all of his officers, and most of the crew.¹

By 1751, probably as a result of that dramatic incident at Port Brunswick, His Majesty's Sloop "Scorpion" was stationed there under the command of Captain John Russell. On October 31 of that year William Moore of Orton Plantation sold to Captain Russell fifty-five acres of land adjoining the northern boundary of Brunswick Town for one pound per acre.² It was on this land that Russell began to build his home. Russell died in December, 1752, however, and by an instrument dated April 16, 1753, his widow acknowledged a bonded indebtedness of £700 proclamation money to Richard Quince, a prominent Brunswick Town merchant, and appointed Quince as her attorney to dispose of "a certain plantation or Tract of fifty-five acres of Land situate near Brunswick in New Hanover County whereon a new house is lately erected and not as yet finished," along with the Negro slaves and other goods and chattels "at the highest price he . . . can get for same."³ By November 18, 1754, when William Moore made his last will and testament, the property was once again in his possession and

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¹ *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), October 31, 1748.

² New Hanover County Registry Records, New Hanover County Courthouse, Wilmington, Book C, 302, hereinafter cited as New Hanover Records. A microfilm copy of these records is on file in the State Archives, Raleigh.

³ New Hanover Records, Book D, 79-80. In this instrument, which was executed by Alice Russell, "widow and relict" of the late John Russell, on April 16, 1753, it is stated that Russell's will was published on "the thirteenth day of December last past," which would indicate that he had died a few days earlier.

he directed that it be sold as soon as convenient. It was then known as "Russellborough,"⁴ though being just the shell of a house,⁵ it was not likely to have ever been occupied by Russell.

During those years there was no fixed seat of government in the colony, the records and assemblymen moving from place to place as each town competed to become the center of political activity. The executors of William Moore's estate were interested in further development of Brunswick Town, not only as an official port of entry, but as the seat of government of North Carolina. With this in mind, they approached Royal Governor Arthur Dobbs, who was living in New Bern at the time, and offered him the fifty-five acres of "Russellborough" with its unfinished house for the sum of five shillings and one peppercorn, the latter to be delivered at the end of one year of residence on the property.⁶ The arrangement with the peppercorn was apparently an attempt on the part of the executors to retain some degree of control over the property for one year and in doing so to insure that Brunswick Town would be the seat of government for at least that period of time and, hopefully, longer.

Governor Dobbs was approached at an opportune time by the gentlemen from Brunswick. His health was bad, and he attributed that to the "aguish" climate of New Bern. He wished for a healthier climate. Dobbs was also concerned over the high rent he was paying, so the offer of fifty-five acres plus the shell of a fine house at Brunswick looked good to him; consequently, he moved to "Russellborough" in 1758.⁷ Although New Bern and Brunswick were both coastal towns, equally subject to fevers and "ague," Dobbs felt that the move helped his health. And indeed it must have, for in 1762 when he was seventy-

⁴ In his will, William Moore mentioned "my house Russellborough," and he named as his executors his wife, Mary Davis Moore, her father, John Davis, Sr., and George Moore. New Hanover Records, Book D, 134-135. In a deed to Arthur Dobbs executed March 1, 1762, the executors of Moore's estate also made reference to "Russellborough." New Hanover Records, Book D, 326-327.

⁵ In a report to the Board of Trade, August 3, 1760, Governor Dobbs said: "It is also notoriously evident that the unhealthy situation of the Town of Newbern deprives it of the least claim to such an advantage, as appears by the unanimous vote of the Assembly now upon their Journals, to wit, that the Town of Newbern upon account of its being an unhealthy situation was improper for the seat of Government. Besides this unanswerable objection I myself was under a necessity of leaving it, for exclusive of the want of every necessary convenience, I was apprehended to be dying upon account of the unhealthiness of the place and as the shell of a very good house situate on a healthy soil near Brunswick on Cape Fear River was offered me I removed thither where under God my health is re-established." William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), VI, 300, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

⁶ New Hanover Records, Book D, 326-329.

⁷ Desmond Clarke, *Arthur Dobbs, Esquire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 152, hereinafter referred to as Clarke, *Dobbs*.

three years old, he married Justina Davis, a fifteen-year-old Brunswick maiden.⁸

With the move of Dobbs to "Russellborough," the building was completed and several outbuildings were added. This house was to be the residence of two royal governors for the next twelve years, which created a great increase in the political activity for the little town of Brunswick. During the years that Dobbs and his teen-age bride lived at Brunswick their residence was known as "Castle Dobbs," as was the Governor's ancestral home in Carrickfergus, Ireland.⁹

Just before embarking for England in March, 1765, Dobbs died, and "Castle Dobbs" devolved to his son, Edward Brice Dobbs, who sold it two years later to Royal Governor William Tryon for £300 sterling—a substantial increase over the five shillings and one peppercorn paid by Dobbs for the property.¹⁰

Tryon had already arranged to lease the governor's house, and within a month following Dobbs' death the new governor moved into "Castle Dobbs," later changing its name to "Bellfont."¹¹ During the first days of their occupancy the Governor and Mrs. Tryon concentrated on renovating the house that was to be their home for the next five years. Tryon wrote to a friend, telling of his new situation and giving a description of his home, the only such description of a Brunswick Town house known to exist:

As you are acquainted with Mr^s Tryons Neatness you will not wonder that we have been pestered with scouring of Chambers White Washing of Cielings [*sic*], Plaisterers Work, and Painting the House inside and out. Such is the Sickness and indolence of the Workmen in this Hot Climate that I shall not I am persuaded get rid of these nuisances this month. This House which has so many assistances is of an oblong Square Built of Wood. It measures on the out Side Faces forty five feet by thirty five feet, and is Divided into two Stories, exclusive of the Cellars the Parlour Floor is about five feet above the Surface of the Earth. Each Story has four Rooms and three light Closets. The Parlour below & the drawing Room

⁸ Clarke, *Dobbs*, 186-187.

⁹ Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XXII, 301.

¹⁰ New Hanover Records, Book E, 309.

¹¹ In a letter to the Earl of Halifax, October 15, 1764, Tryon said, "Among my lesser disappointments is the want of a house, as the Governor has declined letting me his villa till his departure. . . ." *Colonial Records*, VI, 1053. For the change of the name of the house to "Bellfont," see Lawrence Lee, *The Lower Cape Fear in Colonial Days* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 189; also see Collet's "A Compleat Map of North-Carolina from an actual Survey," in William P. Cumming, *North Carolina in Maps* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1966), Plate VII. This map, which was made in 1770, bears the notation "Gov. H. Bellefont" outside Brunswick.

are 20 x 15 feet each; Ceilings low. There is a Piazza Runs Round the House both Stories of ten feet Wide with a Ballustrade of four feet high, which is a great Security for my little girl. There is a good Stable and Coach Houses and some other Out Houses. if I continue in this House, which will depend on Capt. Dobbs' Resolution in the manner he disposes of his Effects here, I shall & must build a good Kitchen, which I can do for forty Pounds Sterling of 30' x 40'—The garden has nothing to Boast of except Fruit Trees. Peaches, Nectrs Figgs and Plumbs are in perfection and of good Sorts. I cut a Musk Melon this week which weighed 17½ Pounds. . . .¹²

In November, 1765, and again in 1766 the Lower Cape Fear area was the scene of violence as citizens arose in arms to protest the Stamp Act. Tryon's home was surrounded by five hundred "inhabitants in arms," as he called them, and he was placed under virtual house arrest. These incidents were among the first in which armed resistance was used against the officers of the King by American colonists.¹³

In April, 1769, C. J. Sauthier drew a detailed map of Brunswick Town showing "His Excellency Governor Tryon's House and Plantation." This map shows the main house at "Russellborough" and reveals that in 1769 there were eleven outbuildings associated with it. These buildings included the stable and coach houses mentioned by Tryon in his description and the kitchen he planned to build. The garden with walks and the position of individual trees are shown; to the south of the house a flag is flying on a flagpole. The map indicates that the low marsh area between the house and the river was extensively cut with canals to enable the growing of rice. Sauthier's map will continue to be a valuable aid in the interpretation of this site.¹⁴

In 1770 William Tryon moved into the controversial "Tryon's Palace" at New Bern,¹⁵ and in January, 1771, he sold his Brunswick Town house to William Dry for £600.¹⁶

William Dry, the port collector of customs for Brunswick, was a

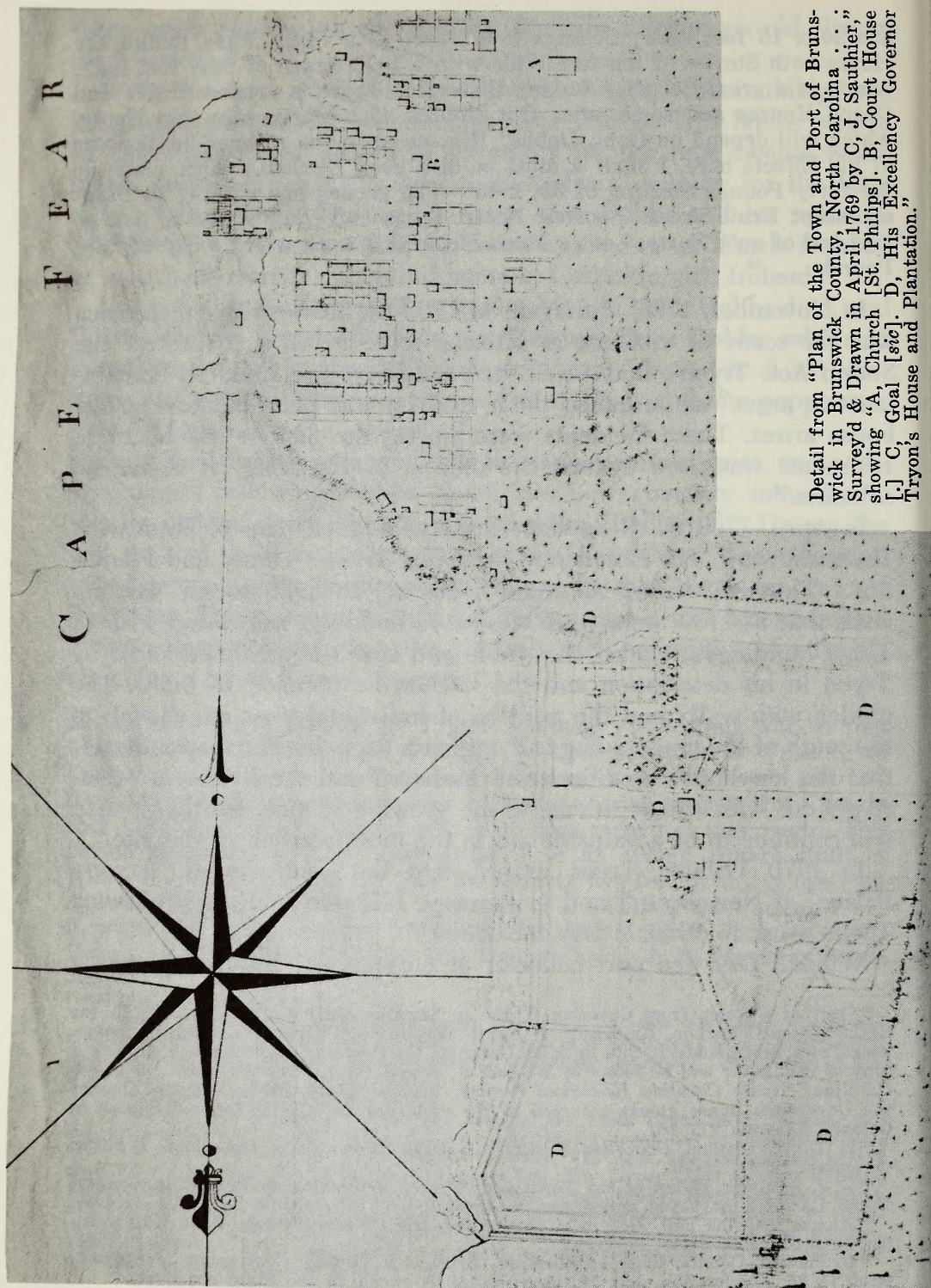
¹² Copy of a letter from Governor Tryon to Sewallis Shirley, July 26, 1765, in the Bruce Cotten Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, given to Brunswick Town State Historic Site by Miss Gertrude Carraway of New Bern. A published copy of this letter will be found in William S. Powell (ed.), "Tryon's 'Book' on North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXIV (July, 1957), 406-415. One of the Governor's house guests referred to the residence as "Castle Tryon." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 161.

¹³ R. D. W. Connor, *Cornelius Harnett* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, 1909), 35-36.

¹⁴ C. J. Sauthier, "Plan of the Town and Port of Brunswick, in Brunswick County, North Carolina, surveyed and drawn in April, 1769," copy on file in State Archives.

¹⁵ Alonzo Thomas Dill, *Governor Tryon and His Palace* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 117.

¹⁶ Brunswick County Registry Records, Brunswick County Courthouse, Southport, Book D, 85. A microfilm copy of these records is on file in the State Archives.



Detail from "Plan of the Town and Port of Brunswick in Brunswick County, North Carolina . . . Survey'd & Drawn in April 1769 by C. J. Sauthier," showing "A, Church [St. Philips]. B, Court House [.] C, Goal [sic]. D, His Excellency Governor Tryon's House and Plantation."

man of some means.¹⁷ He continued to call the house "Bellfont"¹⁸ and entertained such men as Josiah Quincy, who said that Colonel Dry's mansion is justly called "the house of universal hospitality."¹⁹ Although Dry was employed in the King's business, his politics was such that one visitor, after listening to Dry's views, said: "He [Richard Quince] is deeply engaged in the new system of politicks, in which they are all more or less, tho' M^r Dry, the collector of customs, is the most zealous and talks treason by the hour."²⁰ His views eventually resulted in his being removed from his official duties for the King; thereafter he continued to devote his energies to the cause of the Revolution.²¹

On April 5, 1776, the *Virginia Gazette* reported:

Captain Collett has lately committed divers acts of piracy and robbery. Amongst others he set fire to the elegant house of Col. Dry . . . destroying therein all the valuable furniture, liquors, etc. . . .²²

With the burning of the house, its eighteen-year period of occupation was sealed in the earth and, fortunately, the site was never again occupied. This ruin, along with those of the town of Brunswick, was sold to the owner of Orton Plantation by the state of North Carolina in 1842²³ for \$4.25.

During the Civil War earthworks were built at Fort Anderson nearby, but the area of the ruin of "Russellborough" was not disturbed. By the late nineteenth century the fields to the west of the area of the ruins of "Russellborough" were known as the "old palace fields," but the site of the house had been lost in a dense jungle-like overgrowth. James Sprunt, owner of Orton Plantation and historian of the Cape Fear area, in the 1890's inquired of a Negro who had formerly been a slave as to the location of the home of Governor Dobbs or Governor Tryon. The old gentleman answered that he did not know of those

¹⁷ For a brief biographical sketch of William Dry, see Evangeline Walker Andrews (ed.), with the collaboration of Charles McLean Andrews, *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the years 1774 to 1776*, by Janet Schaw (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), 314-315, hereinafter cited as Andrews, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*.

¹⁸ When Frederick J. Hill, the owner of Orton Plantation, acquired "Russellborough" in 1842, the grant from the Secretary of State cited the "Bell Font" line as one of the surveyor's calls. The grant was entered April 27, 1842, and recorded April 28, 1845, when Hill paid for the property. See Land Grant Records of North Carolina, Office of the Secretary of State, Raleigh, Land Grant Book 150, 303, File No. 1566, hereinafter cited as Land Grant Book.

¹⁹ Andrews, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 315.

²⁰ Andrews, *Journal of a Lady in Quality*, 145.

²¹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 101.

²² *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), April 5, 1776.

²³ Land Grant Book 150, 303. See n. 18.

governors but that he did know the location of the ruin of the house of "governor palace," and the old slave took Sprunt to the site of "Russellborough."²⁴

Through the interest of Sprunt and the North Carolina Society of the Colonial Dames of America, the site of "Russellborough" was marked in 1909 by a monument faced with small yellow Dutch bricks dug from one of the cellar floors of the ruin. An access road was constructed to the monument across two corners of the ruin. A laborer involved in that work remembered seeing the mouth of a tunnel and he said that some of the workmen wanted to dig into it to look for treasure, but Sprunt ordered that the tunnel be covered. Sprunt explained that someday someone might want to uncover the ruin to learn about the governors who had once lived there—this admirable attitude of the historian undoubtedly saved "Russellborough" from damage. Fifty years later the laborer predicted to the author that a brick tunnel would be found when the excavation was carried out at the site of "Russellborough."

When the excavation of "Russellborough" began in May, 1966, a number of pits dug by treasure and relic hunters could be seen, indicating that some disturbance of the context of the ruin could be expected. As excavation progressed, however, it became apparent that the holes seldom reached sufficient depth to disturb the cellar floors or the plaster layer covering them.

Removal of the brick and stone rubble from the area revealed a stone foundation wall two feet thick, measuring 36 by 44 feet with a central stone wall paralleling the long axis of the house. The two halves were bisected by a partition wall of yellow Dutch brick on one side and the charcoal remains of a wooden partition wall on the other. The partitions divided the ruin into four rooms. Ten feet from the central ruin and extending around it was a brick wall with engaged footings for columns, obviously the support for the "piaza" mentioned by Governor Tryon. With this porch foundation, the ruin measured 56 by 65 feet.

Excavation of the area between the porch wall and the foundation wall of the house yielded no artifacts of any kind, except along the north side where thousands of fragments of wine bottles revealed the apparent location of the wine storage area beneath this part of the porch. In the deposit were 158 bottle seals impressed with "W Dry

²⁴ James Sprunt, *Tales and Traditions of the Lower Cape Fear, 1661-1896* (Wilmington: LeGwin Brothers, Printers, 1896), 70, hereinafter cited as Sprunt, *Tales of the Lower Cape Fear*.

Cape Fear 1766," providing dramatic evidence for the report in the *Virginia Gazette* of April 5, 1776, which bemoaned the loss by fire of "the elegant house of Col. Dry . . . destroying therein all the valuable . . . liquors, etc. . . ." By weighing a whole bottle and dividing this figure into the weight of all the fragments recovered from the deposit, it was determined that at least three hundred bottles were stored in this area of the cellar when the house was burned.

The floor of the northeast room of the cellar was found eighteen inches below the surface of the ground and it was paved with yellow Dutch bricks placed on edge. Extending into the room three feet from the north wall were two brick arms sixteen feet apart, probably representing supports for a wooden framework for the storage of barrels lying on their sides. The arms of a central chimney extended into the room from the south wall, in front of which were found the fragments of a very large storage jar that had been sitting beside the fireplace when the burning house fell. This jar has been restored, revealing the letters "I F" in a relief seal on opposite sides of the vessel. Similar jars have been recovered in Williamsburg, are known in the West Indies, and it is assumed that they are Iberian in origin. Also found beside



The large storage jar pictured on the cover is shown above as it was discovered beside a fireplace at "Russellborough." The floor, which can be seen distinctly in the left foreground, is of yellow Dutch brick. Photograph supplied by the author.



Pictured above as they were found are broken medicine bottles, a whole porcelain teacup, two William Dry wine bottles, a pair of brass dividers, and straight razors. Photograph supplied by the author.

this fireplace was an amphora-shaped bottle, another rare type at Brunswick Town. The presence of a fireplace would indicate that this cellar room was once probably used as a servants' quarters, although at the time of the fire it was not likely used for that purpose.

The adjoining room to the south also had a Dutch brick floor over most of its area. Many of the artifacts recovered from this room were in the layer of plaster from the walls that covered the floor in a thick white deposit. The fragments of a marble mantelpiece were lying with a flintlock musket and bayonet on the hearth in front of the arms of the fireplace. The bricks which formed the back of the fireplace were laid in a herringbone pattern, providing a clue to the quality of workmanship that went into the construction of the house.

Lying on the floor where they had fallen were a mass of wine bottle fragments, indicating that wine was stored there also. Lying together were two William Dry bottles, a pair of brass dividers, broken

medicine bottles, one still containing medicine whose primary ingredient was lead, a whole porcelain teacup, and several straight razors. With these objects were cabinet hinges and door locks, indicating that they had been stored together in some type of enclosed cabinet. Nearby was a copper teakettle and the remains of four fire-damaged grindstones. This room, too, had apparently been designed originally as servants' quarters and may have been used as such at the time of the burning of the house.

The adjoining room to the west was floored with sand and also had two brick arms extending into the room, as did the northeast room, probably for the support of barrels of rum or wine placed on a wooden platform between the arms. Between the brick supports, the charcoal remains of what may have been a platform was found. In the northwest corner of the room a number of crucibles of varying sizes were unearthed. Each will nest inside the other to make a set. Crucibles of this type were used by silversmiths for melting metals, and just why William Dry would have so many of these little vessels stored in his home provides food for conjecture. Also found here was a flintlock pistol.

The fourth room was of particular interest because it was covered with a plaster floor whose surface was quite irregular. Several whole wine bottles were recovered there. Two feet from the north central part of a room a brick well was found, which proved to be five feet deep with a two-foot stand of water. Inside the well an iron ring slightly smaller than the well was discovered. Hooks were mounted around the ring at regular intervals—obviously this was a device for suspending objects inside the well for cooling. The presence of wine bottles at the bottom of the well might indicate that wine was one of the items being cooled there. In the corner of the room barrel bands of iron were found lying one inside the other, indicating that barrels were present there also. This room at one time was probably connected through an opening in the stone foundation wall to the wine storage area beneath the porch, but the opening was later sealed with small stones mixed with a mortar of clay instead of cement. This room probably served also as the dairy for "Russellborough."

As the northeast corner of the brick foundation for the porch support was being excavated, an arched row of bricks was seen forming part of the foundation wall. As more of the arch was revealed the mouth of a tunnel was seen. Immediately in front of the tunnel open-



The tunnel at "Russellborough" with objects lying in place. Photograph supplied by the author.

ing was an object made of tabby,²⁵ twenty inches square at one end with a round, tapering hole throughout its eighteen-inch length. Just what this object was used for is unknown, though its function may have been in connection with a water closet associated with the tunnel and the porch.

The area in front of the mouth of the tunnel had been disturbed to a depth of the bottom of the mouth of the tunnel and was filled with bricks and sections of the brick wall support for the porch. A fragment of modern red glass indicated that the mouth of the tunnel must have been exposed at sometime during the twentieth century but was recovered. This fact correlated with the information provided by the laborer, as reported earlier. The tunnel mouth was located directly beneath the access road to the 1909 monument. This fact indicated that in order to construct the road over the edge of the ruin, parts

²⁵ Tabby is a cement made of lime, sand or gravel, and oyster shells, which was commonly used for the construction of houses on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

of the brick wall had to be leveled to make way for the road, which would account for the disturbance near the tunnel mouth.

As excavation of the tunnel was carried out, it was determined that the lower half was filled with quantities of artifacts such as wine glasses, plates, teacups, saucers, bottles, and an unbroken earthenware, olla-shaped jar. The tunnel proved to be thirty feet long, sloping downhill toward the river and resolving into an open brick-sided ditch at its opposite end. The floor of the tunnel was bricked and unmortared, whereas the arched overhead was constructed with lime-mortared bricks. Obviously this tunnel constituted some sort of drainage system from the cellar to the river, most likely a sewer.

Forty feet north of the ruin of "Russellborough" a stone foundation wall could be seen standing two feet above the surface of the ground. Excavation of this ruin revealed a foundation of a building 32 by 52 feet constructed of stone and brick with an ell on the south end. This building was shown on the 1769 Sauthier map of Brunswick Town and may represent the kitchen Governor Tryon said he planned to build sometime after 1765. Its interpretation as a kitchen is based on the fact that a foundation for a bake oven was found attached to a seven-foot wide fireplace. An interesting feature of this fireplace was a bricked storage box at the left side which contained soot and ashes, apparently having fallen to the ground from the level of the hearth itself, some distance above the excavation level. The function of this separate "soot box" is not known. The kitchen was divided into three rooms, the central room having a small hearth, likely for supplying heat for the servants, whose quarters were probably located there. The northernmost room, with a brick foundation was perhaps a storage room for supplies for the kitchen. A small section of Dutch brick flooring was found in the "servants' quarters" room of this building.

Few artifacts were found in the area of the ruin itself, but directly to the east, on the downhill slope of the bank, a round pit outline was seen when the topsoil was removed from the area. This pit was only three feet across and one foot deep, but it contained an incredible amount of broken dishes and bottles. Fragments of broken china were so tightly packed into the pit that sand had not been able to sift in, leaving hollow spaces between the fragments. A total of 2,320 fragments of china were recovered, from which over 40 ceramic vessels were completely restored, including teacups, saucers, sauceboats, chamber pots, bowls, plates, platters, pitchers, and jugs. Besides this unusual collection of objects there were two William Dry bottle seals,

nine Pymont water bottle seals,²⁶ and 163 pounds of bottle fragments. Using a whole bottle weight of one and one-half pounds, the total number of bottles in this pit would be 108. This compared favorably with the count of 103 bottle necks and 112 bottle bases determined from fragments of these parts counted.

Of the ceramic types recovered from the pit 59 percent were of white salt-glazed stoneware, 20 percent were of creamware, and 7 percent were of Oriental porcelain. A surprising fact is that there were no fragments of mottled-glaze creamware present, as one might have expected from a pit of this date. From the presence of the 1766 bottle seals and the historic proof that the site was sealed in 1776, it is known that this group of artifacts dates during the ten-year period from 1766 to 1776. The fact that the objects were closely packed into the pit in a solid mass of fragments would tend to indicate that this deposit was the result of disposal of a mass breakage of china and bottles which occurred at one moment in time during the occupation of the site. One restored teacup was of blue transfer-printed ware with the "C" mark of the Worcester pottery, the earliest transfer-printed ware yet found at Brunswick Town.

The contents of this pit, along with the artifacts recovered from the tunnel and the ruin of the house and kitchen at "Russellborough," are still being cataloged, processed, and restored. The continuing interpretation of this excavation should prove of considerable value to archaeologists and historians interested in the most significant ruin yet revealed at Brunswick Town.

With completion of the excavation at "Russellborough," the 1896 prediction of James Sprunt has been realized. At that time he said, "A careful excavation of this ruin would doubtless reveal some interesting and possibly valuable relics of Governor Tryon's household."²⁷ The continued interest of the Sprunt family made possible the establishment of Brunswick Town as a State Historic Site, leading to discoveries of inestimable historic worth, such as those at "Russellborough."

²⁶ In the eighteenth century mineral waters from the spa at Pymont (Piermont), the capital of Waldeck, Germany, were popular in England, and bottles carrying this water have been found in Virginia as well as in this pit at "Russellborough." Ivor Noël Hume, "The Glass Wine Bottle in Colonial Virginia," *Journal of Glass Studies* (Corning, N.Y.: Corning Museum of Glass, 1961), Volume III, 109.

²⁷ Sprunt, *Tales of the Lower Cape Fear*, 71.

HENRY PATTILLO IN NORTH CAROLINA

BY DURWARD T. STOKES*

Henry Pattillo was an outstanding minister of the Presbyterian church in North Carolina during the latter half of the eighteenth century. "Father Pattillo,"¹ as he came to be reverently known throughout the Carolina Piedmont, was not only a pioneer leader in the church but a teacher of unusual ability, as well as a very influential participant in the political activities that attended the transition of North Carolina from an English colony into an American state. Extant knowledge of his personal life is meager, but a considerable amount of material exists which has testified to the results of his career. As was customary with many men of letters in that day, Pattillo kept a journal, fragments of which have been preserved, and it was from that manuscript that most of the facts about his youth have been gleaned.²

Pattillo did not begin the writing of his journal until he was twenty-eight years of age and was immersed in his ministerial career. He was cryptic about his boyhood and apparently dismissed that period of his life as relatively unimportant. The writer did record enough facts to be combined with statements of his contemporaries to give an outline of his life, however. He was a native of Scotland, born in the village of Balermic near the city of Dundee in the year 1726. His father was George Pattillo, a connection of the Argyll family, and his mother's name was Jane. Henry had two brothers, George and William, and several sisters, but there is no record known of their names.³ The original name of the family in Scotland was Pattulock, which was

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¹ James R. Rogers, *The Cane Ridge Meeting-House* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company [Second Edition], 1910), containing a reprint of *A Short History of the Life of Barton W. Stone, written by Himself, Designed Principally for His Children and Christian Friends*, 128.

² Journal of Henry Pattillo. The fragments of this journal are among the Pattillo Papers in the library of the Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia. These papers contain Pattillo's will, two letters to his wife, several notebooks, sermons, and other manuscripts. All reference to this material will be hereinafter cited as Pattillo Papers.

³ Mrs. James Logan Jones, *The Pattillo Family* (Macon, Georgia: Privately printed by J. W. Burke Company, ca. 1936), 123-124; see also Pattillo Papers. An entry in Pattillo's Journal refers to the birth of one of his children: "Being doubtful of the Life of the little infant, I had it offered to God in my Sickness, by receiving the Seal of Baptism and in Memory of my aged Mother named it Jane."

spelled in a number of ways, ranging from Pattillo to Petilly.⁴ In his own words, he was a child of "Religious Parents, educated with Care and Tenderness *above many mine Equals*; and that in the Middle of Scotland," and his rearing was further described as "of pious parents, who were well situated in the point of religious privileges."⁵ The parents were sufficiently prosperous to educate their children, but nothing more is known about them. For reasons never stated, Henry Pattillo left Scotland in the company of his brother, George, and came to America in about 1740.⁶

The brothers settled in the colony of Virginia, possibly because they had relatives living there. In 1728 a James Pattillo was made inspector of tobacco in Prince George County, Virginia. His children were James, Ann, and Henry.⁷ That family may have been instrumental in the decision made by the two young Scotsmen to come to America in search of a new life. They may also have been helpful to the young Henry, who found employment in a mercantile establishment. His work was "to learn the duties of the counting-house," but the youth soon became disappointed with his occupation and felt "in his absence from religious instructions and restraints[,] the overcoming power of temptation, which for a time prevailed over his early instructions and pious resolutions."⁸

During that period of his life, the young man believed that he would be better satisfied in another type of work, so he began teaching school. While engaged in that capacity, Pattillo continued to wrestle with his own inner convictions. He described his thoughts in his *Journal*:

Here, by what means I cannot tell, it being so gradual, I got such astonishing views of the method of salvation, and of the glorious Mediator; such sweetness in the duties of religion; such a love to the ways of God; such an entire resignation to and acquiescence in the divine will; such a sincere desire to see men religious, and endeavor to make those so with whom I conversed, that after all my base ingratitude, dreadful back-

⁴ Henry Pattillo, *A Geographical Catechism*, edited by N. W. Walker and M. C. S. Noble (Chapel Hill: University Press [*University Reprints Number One*], 1909), unnumbered first page of the Preface, hereinafter cited as Pattillo, *Catechism*. The original manuscript is in the Pattillo Papers.

⁵ Pattillo Papers.

⁶ William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical* (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), 214, hereinafter cited as Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*.

⁷ Worth S. Ray, *The Mecklenburg Signers and Their Neighbors* (Austin, Texas: Privately printed, 1946), 430-431. Ray's conclusion that Henry Pattillo, the teacher, and the Henry Pattillo who was a son of James Pattillo were the same does not agree with Pattillo's *Journal*; however, the fact that a family by the name of Pattillo lived in Virginia at the time is acceptable.

⁸ Pattillo Papers; see also Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 214.

sliding, broken vows, frequent commissions of sin, loss of fervor, and frequently lifeless duties since that time, I must, to the eternal praise of boundless free grace, esteem it a work of the Holy Spirit, and the finger of God.⁹

Pattillo continued to devote much thought to the mission of Christianity in the world and its relationship to his own life. He made it a point to pray several times each day and said, "I used, when alone, to speak out in meditation, and do esteem it an excellent medium to fix the heart on the work."¹⁰ He discussed the value of Christian living with individuals whenever he had an opportunity and constantly felt himself propelled by an ever increasing desire to enter the ministry. He explained his feelings in his diary:

. . . I can boast of but little success in these endeavors, yet my feeble attempts produced in me an indescribable desire of declaring the same to all mankind to whom I had access; and as I could not do this in a private station, I was powerfully influenced to apply to learning in order to be qualified to do it publicly.¹¹

Thus in the year 1750 Pattillo made his final decision and began planning to obtain the higher education he felt was necessary to complete his ministerial training. Just at that time he became acquainted with the Reverend John Thompson, a minister who had been sent by the Synod of Philadelphia to visit the Presbyterian churches in North Carolina and Virginia. After discussing his plans with that clergyman, Pattillo was convinced that he should go to Pennsylvania to complete his theological studies and he actually began the journey to the North. He had traveled for only a few hours, however, before he became the victim of a severe attack of pleurisy. Illness kept him in Virginia until the next year and completely disrupted his plans to go to Pennsylvania.

While convalescing, Pattillo was invited by the venerable Samuel Davies to reside at his home and continue his studies there. This was a fortunate arrangement for the student, as Davies was a well-educated and able man and, among the Presbyterians in the colony, "first upon the list of worthies."¹² He was so convinced of the need for a religious revival that he was engaged in the same year he met Henry Pattillo in sponsoring an attempt to persuade the renowned

⁹ Pattillo Papers; see also Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 214-215.

¹⁰ Pattillo Papers; see also Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 215.

¹¹ Pattillo Papers.

¹² William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company [Second Series], 1855), 40, hereinafter cited as Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*.

Jonathan Edwards to come to Virginia on an evangelistic mission.¹³ Because of the lack of schools in the South as well as the difficulty for students to attend colleges in the North, the ministerial educator opened his home to young men in order that a number of them could live there and study with him. Pattillo was fortunate to be one of that number, and he continued his residence and training in the Davies home for seven years.

The Synod of New York commissioned Davies and Gilbert Tennent in 1753 to make a trip to England in search of funds to promote the College of New Jersey, forerunner of Princeton University. During Davies' absence, Pattillo fell in love with Mary Anderson and wished to marry her, even if his plans to complete his education at the College of New Jersey would consequently have to be abandoned. Davies wrote from England to suggest that the marriage be delayed until Henry completed his education. Nevertheless, the wedding took place in 1755. His wife had some resources of her own on which the couple lived, and Henry supplemented the family income by the earnings from his teaching in Hanover. The young pair did not live luxuriously, for Pattillo described their residence as "a house 16 by 12 and an outside chimney, with an 8 feet shed—a little chimney to it."¹⁴ On June 13, 1757, the house was struck by lightning. None of the occupants was injured although at the time, in addition to Henry, his wife, and young child, within the small building were his wife's sister, six students, and a Negro boy.¹⁵ The young father was happy in his new circumstances, however modest, and his relationship with Davies continued on a friendly basis, even though he had disregarded his mentor's advice. After Davies returned from England, Pattillo studied with his teacher until 1758.

In 1755 the Synod of New York established the Presbytery of Hanover, which included Virginia and North Carolina within its territorial bounds. This move was due in no small part to the efforts of Davies, who was properly called "the father of Hanover Presbytery."¹⁶ On September 29, 1758, the Presbyterian church court met at Cub Creek, in Lunenburg County, Virginia, and Henry Pattillo was licensed as a minister. That was a happy day for the man who had waited long and studied hard in preparation for the occasion. His certificate was signed by his benefactor, Samuel Davies, as moderator of the presby-

¹³ Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, 41-42.

¹⁴ Pattillo Papers.

¹⁵ Pattillo Papers.

¹⁶ Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, 40

tery, which made it even more precious to Pattillo, and it read, he "having declared his assent to, and approbation of, the Westminster Confession of Faith and Directory, as they have been adopted by the Synod of New York, agreeably to the practice of the Church of Scotland,"¹⁷ was duly licensed.

There were a number of preliminary stages through which the candidate had to pass before he received his certificate. The presbytery met at Hanover on April 27, 1757, and Pattillo's name appeared for the first time in the records of that body. The entry in the minutes read:

The Presbytery Appoint mr. Pattillo as pieces of Trial to be delivered at our next in June, a Sermon on Acts 10. 43 first Part. *To him gave all the Prophets Wittness*; and an Exegesis on that Question, Num Pena Inferorum sit deina?¹⁸

Pattillo complied with his instructions, and when the presbytery met at the same place, June 8, 1757, the minutes read, "Mr. Pattillo delivered a Discourse upon Acts X. 43 according to Appointment."¹⁹ The presbytery adjourned until the next day, at which time the following entry was made in the record:

They [the presbyters] also considered mr. Pattillo's Discourse, and approve it as a satisfactory Part of Trial.

He likewise delivered an Exegesis from the Question Appointed, which was approved.

The Presbytery having examined him at their last meeting as to his religious Experiences to their Satisfaction, proceeded to examine him extempore as to his Knowledge in Logic, and the Latin, Greek and Hebrew Languages; in which he gave such Specimens as were generally satisfactory.

The Presbytery appoint him to compose a Sermon on Mark 16. 16, and appoint messieurs Todd, and Wright and Davies a Committee to hear it, and make farther Trials of him; to meet at Providence the third Wednesday of July. Concluded with Prayer.²⁰

The instructions of the presbytery were carried out, and on July 20, 1757, the committee and Pattillo met at Providence. The following minutes were recorded of the meeting:

The Committee met according to Appointment, ubi post Preces sederunt,

¹⁷ Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 215-216; see also William M. E. Rachal (ed.), "Early Minutes of Hanover Presbytery," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 63 (January, 1955), 69, hereinafter cited as Rachal, "Hanover Minutes." The original minutes, which are in the library of the Union Theological Seminary, read: "... declared his Assent to, and Approbation of the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms and Directory, as they have been adopted by the synod of New-york. . . ."

¹⁸ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 66.

¹⁹ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 67.

²⁰ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 67.

messieurs Todd, Wright, and Davies. mr. Wright chosen moderator mr. Davies Clark [*sic*].

Mr. Pattillo opened the Committee with a Sermon on Mark 16. 16, according to Appointment.

The Committee, upon a thorough Consideration of Said Sermon, unanimously approve of it, as a satisfactory Part of Trial. The Committee proceeded to examine mr. Pattillo upon Ontology, Pneumatics, Ethics, Rhetoric, natural Philosophy, Geography and Astronomy; in all which he discovered a very satisfactory Degree of Knowledge. And they appoint him to prepare a Lecture on Daniel VII, 19-27, and a Sermon on the 27th verse of said Chapter.²¹

Pattillo carried out his instructions to the letter, and fulfilled the requirements of the committee before the presbytery when it met at Cub Creek, September 28, 1757.²² In spite of its thoroughness up to that point, however, the examination was not finished. The record continued:

The Presbytery farther examined mr. Pattillo in sundry Questions in Divinity, examined and sustained his Lecture and Sermon, and re-heard his religious Experiences: and upon a review of the sundry Trials he has passed through they judge him qualified to preach the gospel. . . . And appoint the moderator to give him some Solemn Instructions and Admonitions with respect to the discharge of his office: which was done accordingly.²³

That was the occasion on which the presbytery directed the certificate to be prepared, but the candidate was not then ordained. In April, 1758, the Presbytery ordered:

Appointed that the next Presbytery meet at Captain Anderson's in Cumberland. The 2d Wednesday of July, and that mr. Pattillo open the Presbytery with a Sermon on Isaiah LV-1, and that he deliver an Exegesis on this Question, *Num, et quo sensu, quantum Praeceptum Decalogi sit morale?* both as Parts of Trial for Ordination.²⁴

The presbytery decided at the same meeting that if Pattillo complied favorably with his instructions he should be "ordained to the holy ministry the Day following."²⁵ That event took place as scheduled in September, 1758.²⁶

²¹ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 68.

²² Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 68.

²³ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 68-69.

²⁴ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 74.

²⁵ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 75.

²⁶ Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 215. This account is confusing because Foote quoted the 1758 date as the time of licensure instead of the ordination. The licensure took place in 1757. Licensing and ordination were two separate steps in the process of the approval of a minister by a presbytery. The Presbytery Minutes are accepted as correct in this case.

The requirements with which Henry Pattillo had to comply in order to become an ordained minister have been quoted in detail in order to emphasize that it was not an easy matter to become an approved minister in the Presbyterian church in the eighteenth century.

Immediately after being licensed to preach in 1757, Pattillo was given the assignment of visiting churches which had no ministers and holding services for those congregations. Because of the rapidly growing population in North Carolina and Virginia caused by the heavy Scotch-Irish migration at the time, congregations were organizing much faster than ministers could be found to supply them. As the case of Pattillo showed, the education and training required of a Presbyterian minister was a lengthy affair, and there were few ministers in 1757 in the southern colonies. Therefore, many of them were given assignments to travel from church group to church group in order that a service could be held occasionally in each one. On his first tour Pattillo ministered in that fashion to the congregations at Meherrin, Nutbush, Hico, Eno, Chesterfield, the Byrd, Louisa, Amelia, at Halifax Courthouse, and in the Albemarle territory.²⁷ On his second, he visited Willis' Creek, the Byrd, Buck Island, Cove, Louisa, and Orange.²⁸

The Hico and Eno churches were established in North Carolina by 1758 and those churches petitioned the Presbytery "particularly, for mr. Pattillo,"²⁹ but at that time the minister accepted a call from the churches at Willis, the Byrd, and Buck Island. It was customary for one clergyman to minister to a group of churches located in the same general area, and that was the case with Pattillo's first charge. After a stay of four years with those congregations, he requested and was granted a release from the group, giving insufficient support as his reason. He did not make plain whether or not he meant financial support, but that seemed reasonable in view of the fact that he was always able to maintain cordial relations with the other congregations to which he ministered.³⁰

The second charge accepted by the preacher was the group composed of the Cumberland, Harris Creek, and Deep Creek churches in Virginia. He ministered in that area from 1763 until 1765. He then severed those connections to accept a call from Hawfields, Eno, and Little River in Orange County. Pattillo worked with that group for

²⁷ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 69.

²⁸ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 72.

²⁹ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 72.

³⁰ Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 217.

nine years and during that period, by means of his energetic efforts, accomplished some of the most outstanding results of his entire ministry. He became so firmly intrenched in the hearts of the people that even after he left the Orange County churches he was persuaded to labor in the Piedmont section of North Carolina throughout the remainder of his life.³¹

When Pattillo came to the Hawfields group of churches, the Presbyterian church in Carolina was in its infancy as an organization. There were no more than three ministers of that denomination in the colony prior to his arrival. The churches which called Pattillo were in the center of the fast growing Presbyterian population. Under Pattillo's ministry and leadership they became vital factors in the development of the Presbyterian organization in North Carolina, and all three churches have continued their active work in the cause of Christianity until the present day.

Henry Pattillo was both a student and teacher all of his life. To him education was only secondary to preaching the Gospel. From his youth he supported himself either wholly or in part by teaching school. Indications are very strong that he continued to teach school during the earliest days of his ministry.³² At any rate, it was not long after his arrival in North Carolina that he began a school in his home. While never as renowned in the educational field as David Caldwell's Log College in adjacent Guilford County, the Pattillo school supplied the only educational facilities available for a number of young men. Some of these students, one of whom was Nathaniel Rochester,³³ used their education to advantage in making a name for themselves in the world. After Pattillo left the Orange churches, he operated a school in Granville County for six years before he accepted another call to a church. One of the pupils in the latter school was Charles Pettigrew, who became an educator in his own right.³⁴ At a later date William Blount, an important figure in both mercantile and political affairs in North Carolina, sent one of his sons to Pattillo's school.³⁵

Shortly after the arrival of Pattillo in North Carolina, two other

³¹ Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 217.

³² Herbert Snipes Turner, *Church in the Old Fields* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 55-56, hereinafter cited as Turner, *Church in the Old Fields*.

³³ Samuel A. Ashe and Others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), III, 341, hereinafter cited as Ashe, *Biographical History*.

³⁴ Ashe, *Biographical History*, III, 390.

³⁵ Henry Pattillo to Charles Pettigrew, December 13, 1788, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Pattillo-Pettigrew letter.

Presbyterian ministers answered calls in the colony. While the relations with the Virginians were happy ones, the distance involved for the ministers to travel to meetings was a real hardship on the North Carolina clergy. Inspired by the energetic leadership of Pattillo, the ministers in the Piedmont joined in a request for the establishment of a new presbytery. The petition was signed by David Caldwell, Hugh McAden, Joseph Alexander, Hezekiah Balch, James Creswell, and Henry Pattillo. It was granted by the synod in 1770, and the new Presbytery of Orange contained all the territory from the Virginia line southward. The new organization held its first meeting at the Hawfields Church, in the fall of the same year.³⁶ The part played by Henry Pattillo in the event was his most important contribution to the development of organized Presbyterianism in Carolina, although he was also an active participant in the creation of the Synod of the Carolinas in 1788. At that time there were ten ministers in Orange Presbytery, and the denomination was growing at a fast pace.³⁷

Besides ministering to his congregation and promoting the education of his people, Henry Pattillo was intensely interested in the contemporary political situation. That situation was far from static during the years of his pastoral work with the Hawfields churches, for it was at that time the Regulator movement flared up in all its fury. Of the 883 known Regulators, some were at least acquainted with Pattillo and very likely were members of his congregations.³⁸ The minister was sympathetic with the aims of the oppressed people but not with their methods of obtaining justice, and he joined with three of his fellow clergymen in two expressions on the subject. The first was a letter to the Royal Governor, William Tryon:

We the Subscribers His Majesty's ever dutiful and loyal Subjects Presbyterian Ministers in this Province beg leave to approach your Excellency with cordial professions of unshaken duty and loyalty to His Majesty's sacred Person and Government and to testify our duty and ready submission to the Laws of this Province and to your Excellency's Administration. With these sentiments glowing in our breasts, we cannot but express our abhorrence of the present turbulent and disorderly spirit that shows itself in some parts of this Province, and we beg leave to assure your

³⁶ Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, 89-90; see also Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 217. During the first half century after their organization, fire destroyed the church buildings at Little River, Hawfields, and Eno. The church records were stored in the buildings and were therefore lost in the flames. John Witherspoon kept the presbytery records in his home, near Hillsborough, which also burned January 1, 1827, with the consequent loss of those records. Intimate details concerning the growth of those organizations and their connection with Pattillo cannot be supplied from those sources.

³⁷ Turner, *Church in the Old Fields*, 67-68.

³⁸ Elmer D. Johnson, "The War of the Regulation: Its Place in History" (unpublished master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1942), 115.

Excellency that we will exert our utmost abilities, to prevent the infection spreading among the People of our charge, and among the whole Presbyterian Body in this Province as far as our influence will extend. . . .³⁹

That letter was signed by Hugh McCaddon [McAden], James Creswell, Henry Pattillo, and David Caldwell and dated from Hawfields, August 23, 1768.

In the same meeting at Hawfields the ministers drafted and sent out the following letter to the churches in their presbytery:

It is with great concern and regret that we view the present Opposition to Order, Law and Government in sundry parts of this Province, and it is with equal concern that we find ourselves unable to assert with truth, that not one of our Profession is engaged in it: It is however our hope and wish, that the number of regular Presbyterians, among the present Insurgents is very small, and to those who may have been seduced from the peaceable Deportment and Loyalty of their Profession & Ancestors, we affectionately address Ourselves as followeth.

.....
We are sensible the movers of the present Insurrection, have put the cry of King, Loyalty, Allegiance, into the mouths of their unwary Adherants; which doubtless was the snare that caught you and many others, but we earnestly recommend to you to consider, that the opposition is directly levelled against Government and Law; for the Oath is what the Law nowhere prescribes, and that Oath to do unlawful things viz: to call Officers to a Settlement, in a way that Law has not allowed, and lastly that Oath is taken not to pay their Taxes, expressly contrary to the Laws of our Country, and the plain word of God. These things should detach every loyal Subject from them especially as you are assured by the Governor's Proclamation, that Justice will be done on all that have oppressed you on proper complaint, by a due course of Law. Should any object that are bound by this Oath, we answer, such Persons have involved themselves in guilt by taking such an unlawful Oath, and greater guilt will lie upon them if they keep it, We therefore tenderly sympathizing with such do recommend to them Repentance for taking that Oath, and give it as our opinion that it ought to be broken. . . .

Submit yourselves to every ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as supreme, or unto Governors as those that are sent by him for the Punishment of Evil Doers, and for the Praise of them that do well. . . .⁴⁰

Those were the efforts, made in vain, of Pattillo and his associates to stem the rising tide of violence during the War of the Regulation. Tryon was impressed even though the Regulators were not then dispersed. When the Governor came to Orange County later in the year

³⁹ William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), VII, 813-814, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

⁴⁰ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 814-816.

to suppress the disturbance with the power of the militia, Pattillo was one of the ministers called upon to give spiritual advice to the soldiers. "It is ordered that the Reverend M^r Micklejohn and M^r Pattilo [*sic*] have thanks for the sermons preached to the Troops," was the command of Lieutenant General Rutherford at the time.⁴¹ It would indeed be interesting to know what the Presbyterian clergyman said to the men. The remarks of the Anglican Micklejohn have been preserved, and they were most emphatic in predicting the dire consequences of the judgment of the Almighty against those who acted rebelliously toward their King. Nevertheless, blood was shed, and the conquered Regulators were required to take an oath of allegiance to the Crown before all were released, except the few leaders who were hanged.⁴²

In spite of the unhappy consequences of the War of the Regulation, Pattillo continued his activity in many phases of the life of the province. His name appeared on a petition to Governor Tryon for "a Publick Inspection" of tobacco at the Town of Hillsborough;⁴³ in 1771 he was named a trustee for Queen's College;⁴⁴ in 1776, a trustee of Granville Hall;⁴⁵ and he participated in "An Act to Establish Warrenton Academy."⁴⁶ He moved eastward from the Hawfields churches in 1774 and became a resident of Bute County (present day Franklin and Warren counties), where he continued the operation of his school. In 1775 he was sent by that county as a delegate to the first Provincial Congress, which met at Hillsborough. His fellow delegates were Green Hill, William Person, Thomas Eaton, Jethro Sumner, and Josiah Reddick.⁴⁷ Among the acts of the Congress was one which read:

We the Subscribers professing our Allegiance to the King, and Acknowledging the constitutional executive power of Government, do solemnly profess, testify and declare that we do absolutely believe that neither the Parliament of Great Britain, nor any Member or Constituent Branch thereof, have a right to impose Taxes upon these Colonies to regulate the internal police thereof; and that all attempts by fraud or force to

⁴¹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 835.

⁴² William K. Boyd, *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1927), 397-412. Micklejohn's sermon was reprinted from the original copy in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁴³ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 80a.

⁴⁴ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 487.

⁴⁵ Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), III, 809, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*.

⁴⁶ Clark, *State Records*, XIV, 297, 863.

⁴⁷ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 164.

establish and exercise such Claims and powers are Violations of the peace and Security of the people and ought to be resisted to the utmost. And that the people of this province, singly and collectively, are bound by the Acts and resolutions of the Continental and Provincial Congresses, because in both they are freely represented by persons chosen by themselves. . . .⁴⁸

The grievances protested in the act were very much the same as those which the Regulators sought to adjust, but apparently Pattillo felt no qualms in joining the movement of the populace when it was executed in an orderly manner and through a proper organization, though he had opposed the violent tactics of the Regulators. The conviction was necessarily deep, for the Congress required a strong expression of his patriotism. Before resolving, "That the Rev^d. Mr. Henry Patillo [*sic*] be desired to read prayers to the Congress every morning,"⁴⁹ that body made the clergyman a member of a committee, whose duties were:

. . . to confer with such of the Inhabitants of the Province, who entertain any religious or political Scruples, with respect to associating in the common Cause of America, to remove any ill impressions that have been made upon them by the artful devices of the enemies of America, and to induce them by Argument and Persuasion, heartily to unite with us for the protection of the Constitutional rights and privileges thereof.⁵⁰

The Congress went even further in its actions and agreed to protect any of the former Regulators who broke the oath to the Crown which they had been required to take by force and appointed Richard Caswell, Maurice Moore, and Henry Pattillo to attempt to persuade them to break their vows and join the Patriots. This was asking a good deal of a minister who had joined his colleagues of the cloth in condemning the Regulator movement. William L. Saunders appraised the situation when he commented:

But what a vast amount of assurance it must have required for Maurice Moore and Caswell and Patillo [*sic*] to attempt to persuade the Regulators that the oaths they had been forced to take at the point of a bayonet after the battle of Alamance were not binding on their consciences! Patillo [*sic*] was one of the Presbyterian divines who, in 1768, united in a pastoral letter to the people of their faith denouncing the Regulators as criminals.⁵¹

Again, the only possible explanation was that the orderly march of events in America, particularly in North Carolina, toward a showdown

⁴⁸ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 171.

⁴⁹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 169.

⁵⁰ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 169.

⁵¹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, viii.

with the Mother Country, appeared in a different light to Pattillo's mind, as to most of the colonials, than the roughneck actions of the Regulators. The period of attempted adjustment had changed to the time of revolution.

Throughout the proceedings of the Congress, Pattillo was mentioned in a number of ways. He was made a member of the Provincial Council for the Halifax District;⁵² another action in which he was involved was described in the minutes:

The Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the whole house accordingly and unanimously chose the Reverend Mr. Patillo [*sic*] Chairman; and after some time spent therein, came to a Resolution thereon.⁵³

The committee decided that a plan of union for the colonies was not feasible at that time.

There is no evidence existing which would support the idea that Henry Pattillo changed from loyal supporter of the British Crown to an ardent American Revolutionary within five years because of personal gain for himself, either through promotion in the political affairs of North Carolina or to improve his financial condition. In 1755 the members of the ill-fated Transylvania Company, while pleading for help in their project from the Continental Congress, in Philadelphia, stated their wish "That a present of six hundred and forty acres of Land be made to the Reverend Mr. Henry Patillo [*sic*] on condition that he will settle in the said Colony."⁵⁴ Judge Henderson, Thomas Hart, and the other members of the company simply wished to promote the migration of colonists to the West, and the offer to Pattillo from men who were prominently attached to the Church of England was a testimony to the clergyman's popularity and not a bribe for any services of a political nature he might render the Transylvanians. He refused the western land, however.

By 1780 Pattillo had become pastor of the churches at Nutbush and Grassy Creek in Granville County. He remained with that charge until his death in 1801. It was during that period that the clergyman published several books from the material he had written. One of the most interesting of his works was entitled *A Geographical Catechism*. On the title page the purpose of the book was explained: "To assist those who have neither Maps nor Gazetteers, To Read NEWS-PAPERS, HISTORY, or TRAVELS; With As Much of The Science of ASTRONOMY, and the Doctrines of the AIR, As is judged sufficient for the Farmer,

⁵² Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 215.

⁵³ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 191.

⁵⁴ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 261.

who wishes to understand something of The Works of GOD, around him; And for the studious YOUTH, who have or have not a prospect of further prosecuting those SUBLIME Sciences.”⁵⁵ The book was composed of questions and answers, fairly simple in the beginning, but with the answers becoming progressively longer toward the end. The first question was:

What is the meaning of the word, *Geography*? Answer. It is compounded of two Greek words, Ge, the Earth, and graphe, a description; and is the science that describes the Earth, or the globe of sea and land.⁵⁶

After a journey around the world through questions and answers, the book ended with a description of America. The author said:

We come in the last place to the freest, happiest, most plentiful part of the globe; and the farthest removed from tyranny. . . . A country in which religion is unrestrained; morality in repute; education promoted; marriage honourable, and age revered.

Q. 104. Pray, sir, where lies this terrestrial paradise?

A. Within the limits of the UNITED STATES; and the spot you stand on, makes a part of it. . . .⁵⁷

Another publication was a collection of Pattillo's sermons. In the Preface of the book the author stated:

I expect to be read by many with a double pleasure; one arising from the force of truth; another because this is an *American* production, and the work of one whom they have often heard from the pulpit.⁵⁸

One of the sermons in the book was entitled “The Division Among Christians,” and the preacher showed plainly that he was concerned with denominational stress. He wrote:

Had the Christian world in all ages sacrificed a few grains of orthodoxy for charity, it would have been an immense gain by the exchange: for if *charity* be greater than *faith* and *hope*, I would not hesitate to pronounce it greater than orthodoxy. . . . may the day speedily arrive when the greatest contention among christians shall be, who shall love their Redeemer best, and who shall serve him with the greatest zeal. Amen.⁵⁹

The concern of the author over denominational strife was further emphasized by the inclusion of another sermon, “A Sermon on the Unity of the Christian Church.”⁶⁰ This concern was also stressed by

⁵⁵ Pattillo, *Catechism*, iii.

⁵⁶ Pattillo, *Catechism*, 7.

⁵⁷ Pattillo, *Catechism*, 51-52.

⁵⁸ Henry Pattillo, *Sermons* (Wilmington, Delaware: James Adams, 1788), iii, hereinafter cited as Pattillo, *Sermons*.

⁵⁹ Pattillo, *Sermons*, 42, 56.

⁶⁰ Pattillo, *Sermons*, 1.

the inclusion in the book of a letter dedicating one of the sermons to Francis Asbury:

To the Revd. Mr. Francis Asbury, Superintendent, and to the Elders and Lay Preachers of the Methodist Society, in America. Dear Brethren:

As soon as I resolved to publish this discourse, I purposed to dedicate it to you, Gentlemen. My motives are these. 1. I love your persons, and honour your piety and zeal; though I differ from you in some of the doctrines of Christianity. 2. I wished you, my brethren, to read this discourse; which coming thus directed to you, makes it, in a sense, as much your property as a private letter. 3. I wished our Methodist brethren to know the Calvinistic doctrine, on the subject of divine decrees and predestination, as far as my small abilities could unfold them in the bounds of one discourse; and as far as I understood them myself. . . .

Let not the sons of the same Father fall out by the way to that celestial Canaan, where the Calvinist and the Arminian shall regret that they did not sooner taste the heaven of brotherly love. Allow me the transcendent pleasure of hoping, that you will acknowledge me.

Your brother in Christ Jesus, Henry Pattillo.
Granville, North Carolina
Jan. 14, 1787.⁶¹

Another sermon in the collection was entitled "An Address to the Deists."⁶² Pattillo had become quite aware of the popularity of that theological concept in the latter years of the eighteenth century, not only in North Carolina, but elsewhere throughout the land. In a letter to Charles Pettigrew written in 1788, Pattillo referred to Micklejohn, the former Anglican with whom he had preached to the Regulators, and said:

Our Episcopalians are getting Mr. Micklejohn to N. B. [Nut Bush, in Granville County], once a month. I heard him last visit. He is an artist at avoiding Jesus Christ, both name and substance. The first thorough deistical sermon I ever heard. I have invited Mr. Jarratt to sew some good seed with the tares, before Christianity is totally eradicated.⁶³

In the same letter, Pattillo mentioned that his book had been published and was for sale; the hardback copies were priced at \$1.00 and the paperback copies at 25 cents.

An insight into the less formal and more humorous side of Pattillo's thoughts were revealed in some random jottings from his notebook, which he labeled "Satirical Observations." Among these, he wrote:

⁶¹ Pattillo, *Sermons*, 102.

⁶² Pattillo, *Sermons*, 199.

⁶³ Pattillo-Pettigrew letter. The Jarratt referred to was the Reverend Devereux Jarratt of Virginia, a former Anglican priest who was interested in interdenominational evangelism.

I dont like a note folded like a cocked hat.

He was a Helot & She was a *Shalot*.

The company was not "picked" — but the pockets of visitors generally are.

He is so confident of being right in everything that if he could he would set the Sun every day by his watch.

He was so deeply affected that he drinks only *black* tea.⁶⁴

Pattillo had a certain amount of humor in his personality, but his writings were usually in a serious vein. His concern for education and Christian family life in particular was clearly expressed in two of his manuscripts. In the first, entitled "Rules for christian societies, or fellowship meetings," Pattillo gave six rules for the promotion of Christian education by means of formal organizations: "Exercises are prayer, scripture & good book reading and speaking on question projected at the last meeting." He further said the Lord's Day was an appropriate time for meeting since the purpose of such societies was "to promote the Glory of God," and "Females are to be admitted for they 'who have frequently more virtue & less vice than the males,'"⁶⁵ should be invited to attend.

The second paper was addressed "To heads of Families" and stated:

A family is a little community within itself, of which smaller communities, states and kingdoms are composed. Out of your families are to arise the future citizens of these States. Cast back your eyes to the *American Revolution*. Never forget the wonder God hath wrought for your country. The acknowledged independence of America, is an event that engages the eager attention of all christendom. It has, to a vast extent of continent, secured those *civil* and *religious* liberties, which are unknown in any other part of the globe.⁶⁶

In 1787 Hampden-Sydney College honored the clergyman by conferring upon him the degree of Master of Arts. This award was doubly appreciated because Henry Pattillo had a genuine love of learning and was aware of the recognition of his accomplishments in that field which the degree signified; and because the award was signed by John B. Smith, who was the president of the college at the time.⁶⁷ Pattillo especially admired Smith and referred to the abilities of the minister in a letter to Charles Pettigrew:

We have had President Smith of P. Edward [Prince Edward County, Virginia], two or three times among us. What a clear head; what an

⁶⁴ Pattillo Papers.

⁶⁵ Pattillo Papers.

⁶⁶ Pattillo Papers.

⁶⁷ Pattillo Papers. These papers contain the original certificate of award.

elegant & ready tongue, and what a glow of religion attends that little Seraph in all his motions! And how greatly are his labours blest!⁶⁸

Pattillo was able to earn only a simple living during his life, and sometimes barely that. When he lived in Bute County, he was merely listed as a "Taxable," without any description of his property.⁶⁹ In 1772 he sold one hundred acres of land in Prince Edward County, Virginia, to Miller Woodson.⁷⁰ In 1789 he purchased five thousand acres of land in Hawfields for £120 from Cullen Pollock of Edenton⁷¹ but sold the same tract to Robert Tennen four years later for £230.⁷² In a letter to the Reverend William Williamson, he commented that he had received \$80.00 for a season's work, and thought it a "great thing," as "Mr. Campbell on Ohio received but thirty-five dollars in a whole year."⁷³

After he moved to Granville County, Pattillo became concerned about his health. In 1780 he wrote to his friend Charles Pettigrew, "I am extremely frail, and I judge this frame incapable of reparation, until sown a natural & raised a spiritual body."⁷⁴ Because of his physical condition, he made a will in 1782, which contained a loving tribute to his family, but he neither named all of them, nor described his property. The document only mentioned "my little estate." He did, however, name two sons-in-law, Richard Harrison and Robert Lanier, in addition to his son Henry Pattillo.⁷⁵ In a later will made in 1800, he mentioned a son, John Franklin Pattillo, and a daughter, Mildred (Milly). This was the only mention made of his children.⁷⁶

In 1784 the Granville congregations to which Pattillo was ministering presented him with a three-hundred-acre tract of land on Spicemarrow Creek for a permanent home. It was that farm which he left to his family in the will of 1800.⁷⁷ In 1792 Elizabeth Burden willed the preacher one half of her crop of corn and to his wife her wearing apparel.⁷⁸ In spite of the generosity of his parishioners, however, Pattillo was forced to a meager existence in his old age. He lost his

⁶⁸ Pattillo-Pettigrew letter.

⁶⁹ Bute County Tax Records, State Archives.

⁷⁰ Deeds of Prince Edward County, Virginia, Deed Book 5, page 74, published in the *Edward Pleasants Valentine Papers* (Richmond: Privately printed by the Valentine Museum, 4 volumes, 1918), III, 1839.

⁷¹ Orange County Deed Books, Orange County Courthouse, Hillsborough, Deed Book 4, page 219, hereinafter cited as Orange County Deed Books.

⁷² Orange County Deed Books, 14, page 425.

⁷³ Henry Pattillo to William Williamson, December 4, 1799, the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

⁷⁴ Henry Pattillo to Charles Pettigrew, June 21, 1780, Pettigrew Papers.

⁷⁵ Pattillo Papers.

⁷⁶ Pattillo Papers. As noted earlier, Pattillo's Journal mentioned a daughter Jane.

⁷⁷ Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 220.

⁷⁸ Granville County Will Books, Granville County Courthouse, Oxford, Will Book 2, page 317.

savings by extending help to his family and very nearly lost everything when his son failed in business. The situation was explained by a contemporary:

Rev. Mr. Pattillo [*sic*] endorsed notes for his son, who was extensively and prosperously engaged in the mercantile employment. By the unexpected failure of his principal debtors, the son was obliged to relinquish his business; and the father, as well as the son, was stripped of his last farthing.⁷⁹

A description of Pattillo as he was remembered by Mrs. John Holt Rice, who knew him in the prime of life, pictured him as a heavy man with a large frame and coarse features, which were usually lighted with a cheerful smile. He had a loud, commanding voice and his delivery was impressive. He was poor, but not unhappy with his lot, and extremely earnest in his work. Next to his ministry, his great love was books, a natural affinity for a scholar.⁸⁰ Archibald Henderson related that Henry Pattillo "accepted with equanimity the burning of his house in his absence, so great was his relief on learning his books had been saved."⁸¹

After a visit to him in his last days, Z. Lewis wrote the following account:

The Rev. Henry Pattillo is seventy-four years of age. His white, trembling, palsied head is filled with sound and useful knowledge. He appears to be an eminently pious and faithful minister of the gospel; a kind and attentive husband; an affectionate and indulgent father; a cheerful and pleasant companion; and a polite, noble and generous friend. Mrs. Pattillo is an amiable and respectable woman. Long have this unfortunate pair travelled hand in hand the high road to heaven. Often on their way, have they been called to struggle with adversity. A long and tedious distance have they journeyed through the vale of extreme poverty. "Seven times have we eaten our last morsel; and where to look for more, but to heaven, we knew not. To heaven we looked; and before we were again hungry, we were furnished with sufficient & comfortable food. It seemed," continued he, "it truly seemed as tho' a kind Providence had poured it down from above. . . . we are now, blessed be God! in comfortable circumstances; and our future earthly wants will be few."⁸²

Lewis was so impressed with the Pattillo family that he continued his report of the visit with his own summary:

⁷⁹ Z. Lewis, "Anecdote of Mr. Pattillo," *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 6 (December, 1800), 232-233, hereinafter cited as Lewis, "Pattillo Anecdote."

⁸⁰ William Buell Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York: Robert Carter, 4 volumes, 1858), III, 198.

⁸¹ Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina: The Old North State and the New* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 5 volumes, 1941), I, 571.

⁸² Lewis, "Pattillo Anecdote," 232.

Yes, grateful happy pair! Your wants on earth will hence be few. You will soon come to the end of your journey. You will soon enter through the gates into the City, and arrive in safety at your Father's house. With propriety may you adopt the language of the Christian poet:

"We'll soon be wafted o'er
This life's tempestuous sea,
Soon shall we reach the peaceful shore
Of blest eternity."⁸³

Lewis underestimated the Christian zeal of the man who had contributed so generously of his strong physique and agile mind to the cause of Carolina Christianity. In his seventy-fifth year the feeble preacher went on an evangelistic mission to Dinwiddie County, Virginia, and died while there in the year 1801.⁸⁴ Friends wrote back to North Carolina that his passing was entirely calm and peaceful.⁸⁵ So the minister left this world, away from his home and family, but to the end preaching the Gospel to his fellowmen. His burial place is unknown to this day, but his life has remained an inspiration to North Carolinians for two centuries. Self-made minister, educator, and patriot, Pattillo showed what could be accomplished by work and will.

The Reverend Drury Lacy conducted a commemorative service at the Granville churches of the departed pastor. His text was taken from Romans, 14: 7-8:

That his life was a pattern of resignation and thankfulness has been remarked even by those who had a slight acquaintance with him. . . . Thus he closed his life on a preaching tour, being far advanced in his 75th year, which doubtless does honor to his character, and should serve to stimulate all his younger brethren in the ministry to follow his example, and to be willing to spend, and be spent in the cause of their Saviour, and in the cause of religion.⁸⁶

⁸³ Lewis, "Pattillo Anecdote," 233.

⁸⁴ *Raleigh Register and North Carolina State Gazette*, August 25, 1801; under "Obituaries," announcement was made, "In Granville County, lately, the Reverend Henry Pattillo."

⁸⁵ Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 222-223.

⁸⁶ *A Sermon Preached on the Occasion of the Death of the Rev. Henry Pattillo to His Former Congregations in Granville County, North Carolina, Oct. 11th, 1801, by the Rev. Drury Lacy* (Philadelphia: Privately printed by William W. Woodward, 1803), 27-29.

ABOARD A BLOCKADE RUNNER: SOME CIVIL WAR EXPERIENCES OF JEROME DuSHANE

EDITED BY HUGH G. EARNHART*

Jerome DuShane was born in western Pennsylvania and spent his boyhood around New Castle, then located in Beaver County. He had a typical nineteenth-century boyhood, roaming and exploring the hills and streams with Alexander Long, to whom the following letter is addressed. Prior to the Civil War DuShane moved to Virginia and enlisted in the Confederate Army.

His first duty was with Stonewall Jackson's Foot Cavalry in the Shenandoah Valley. On March 11, 1864, because of an injury he had received, he was transferred from the Stonewall Brigade to the Signal Corps and assigned to a blockade runner. As a signal officer he was stationed first aboard the "North Heath" and later with the crew of the "Lady Sterling." Both ships operated between Bermuda and Wilmington.

In the blockade adventures which the letter that follows describes, DuShane shows the patriotic pride that the Confederates felt when late in the war they still were able to outwit the Union blockading fleet which patrolled the waters outside Wilmington.

Jerome DuShane's letter is reproduced as he wrote it, except for a few editorial interpolations which have been added for easier reading. The original letter is in the Alexander Long Papers at the Cincinnati Historical Society.

New Castle, Pa.

January 21, 1868

Dear Aleck,¹

I have thought of writing you for a long time, but [have] put it off from time to time; so this afternoon I thought I would undertake it.

But I will commence by saying I am a *Rebel*—so called because of my grandfather before me. So if you don't like the confession you had better not read any further, but burn this letter.

* Mr. Earnhart is acting chairman of the Department of History, Youngstown University, Youngstown, Ohio.

¹ Alexander Long was born in Greenville, Mercer County, Pennsylvania, December 24, 1816. He was a prominent Cincinnati lawyer from 1850 to 1880 and served as a member of the state house of representatives in 1848 and 1849. Long was elected

When the war broke out, I was living in Virginia and was among the first to take up arms in behalf of the noblest cause man ever engaged in. Although over, [it] was a war justly fought with a heroism that no other nation has ever shown. We were compel[le]d after a noble struggle of four years to succumb to overwhelming numbers. But in the end it has shown it would have [been?] far better if every man, woman and child in the South had fallen in her defence, for what rights have they now got worth living for? It makes me almost weep when I think of the sad conditions of the people of the South at the present time. The finest portion of God's earth made a second Hayti and Santa Domingo.²

But I will not dwell on this gloomy subject, but speak of other things. Up to the last year of the war I belonged to Stonewall Jackson's "foot cavalry," when my health became somewhat in danger. I was transfer[r]ed to the Signal Corps and sent to the Island of Bermuda to take charge of a Blockade Runner as signal officer.³ On our way out nothing of special interest transpired, we pierced the Yankee blockading fleet without them recognizing us. I had to wait about three weeks in Bermuda before my vessel was ready for sea, so I had plenty of time to explore the island, which I did. It is a beautiful island, the climate delightful. I wish I were there now. At last the "N.H."⁴ was ready to try her back at "blockade running." We started for Wilmington, N.C., and nothing of interest occur[r]ed until we got within about 130 miles of Wilmington when one of the most exciting chases commenced I ever saw. Throughout the night we had let some of our fires go out so as to enable the firemen to clean out the furnaces,⁵ consequently the Yanks gained on us very quickly[.] They could have fired into us easily, but I suppose they felt so confident of capturing us that they thought they would not force their "prize." We soon got up a good head of steam, when we began to widen the distance between us; but it was not very long before the man in the mast-head sung out "sail on our eastward beam," sure enough, just a few miles off was another Yankee cruiser. So we had to change our course, consequently that gave the first Yank great[er] advantage

as a Democrat to the Thirty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1863-March 3, 1865) and was an unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1864. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961: The Continental Congress, September 5, 1774, to October 21, 1788, and the Congress of the United States from the First to the Eighty-sixth Congress, March 4, 1789, to January 3, 1961, Inclusive.* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, Eighty-fifth Congress, Second Session, *House Document No. 442*, 1961), 1231.

² DuShane is no doubt referring to the numerous Negro revolts that eventually led to Negro domination in the two governments.

³ He was transferred on March 11, 1864. When the practice of blockade running was reduced to a system during the last two years of the Civil War, a signal service was organized on shore and signal officers were assigned details aboard each vessel.

⁴ The "North Heath," an English Clyde-built steamer, was 260 feet long, weighed 343 tons, and had large paddle wheels. The United States consul at Cardiff described her as being "very, very sharp" and would be "hard to catch." She was sunk in the Cape Fear River in December, 1864, when the Union threatened to attack Fort Fisher and Wilmington. Richard Rush and Others (eds.), *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 30 volumes, 1894-1914), Series I, IX, 538; Series I, XI, 785-786, hereinafter cited as *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*.

⁵ This was an established practice so that the blockade runner would produce less smoke as it attempted to run past the Union blockading fleet.

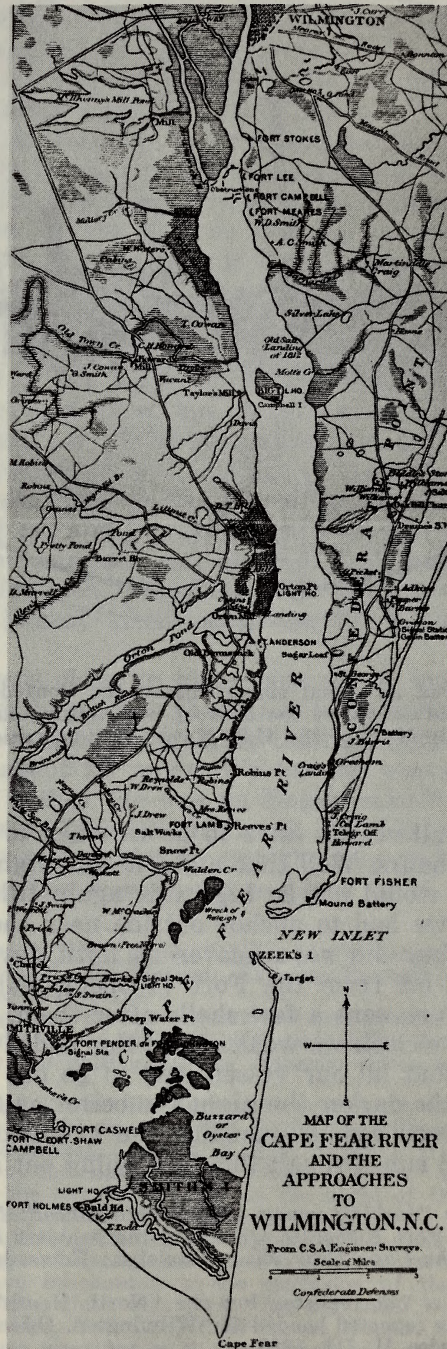
over us, but ours was a very fast craft. But in the course of three or four hours we had both Yanks several miles behind us. We began to think ourselves all right, when the man aloft sung out, "sail ahead"—which proved to be another Yank, so we had again to change our course. We had been running North, but now had to run due West towards Fort Macon,⁶ then in the hands of the Yanks, but we had no other alternative. The question now was, was the land far enough off so as to give us a chance to get the three Yanks that were chasing us far enough astray of us so to allow us to change our course towards the North again—for the position of the Yanks at this time prevented us from going South. The chase was now getting pretty exciting, our ship was making about fifteen miles an hour, and at 4 o'clock P.M. we had the Yanks pretty well astern of us, but just then the man at the look out sung out "land ahead," sure enough just ahead of us was land and a few miles to our right stood the Fort above spoken. We thought it all up with us now, but we were determined not to give up till the very last moment[.] If it should come to the worst, we intended running our ship on the rocks and take[ing] our chances of escaping. After a short consultation it was decided to change the course of our ship and run North, as our only chance of escape. At this time we were four or five miles South of the Fort, but we steamed boldly towards it and it was some time before the Yanks at the Fort could make us out, but when we got opposite them they saw it was a chase so they started two vessels from the Fort after us, when the chase again commenced in earnest.

One of the Yanks was very fast and both were firing shell and solid shot at us. The fast Yank was putting on her "big lick" when all at once a tremendous "bustification" took place and the steam shot up a hundred feet into the air so she was compelled to give up the chase[.] We soon left the other one far enough behind. At this time the Yank who gave chase in [the] morning was on our starboard beam, running parallel with us, his objective was to push us in towards land, but fortunately for us, it was now getting dark, so we turned around and went back on our old tracks. We passed the two Yanks from the Fort, the one that had "bust her biles" had gotten fixed up again, ready to renew the chase, but the darkness favored us, as it enabled us to give them all the slip.

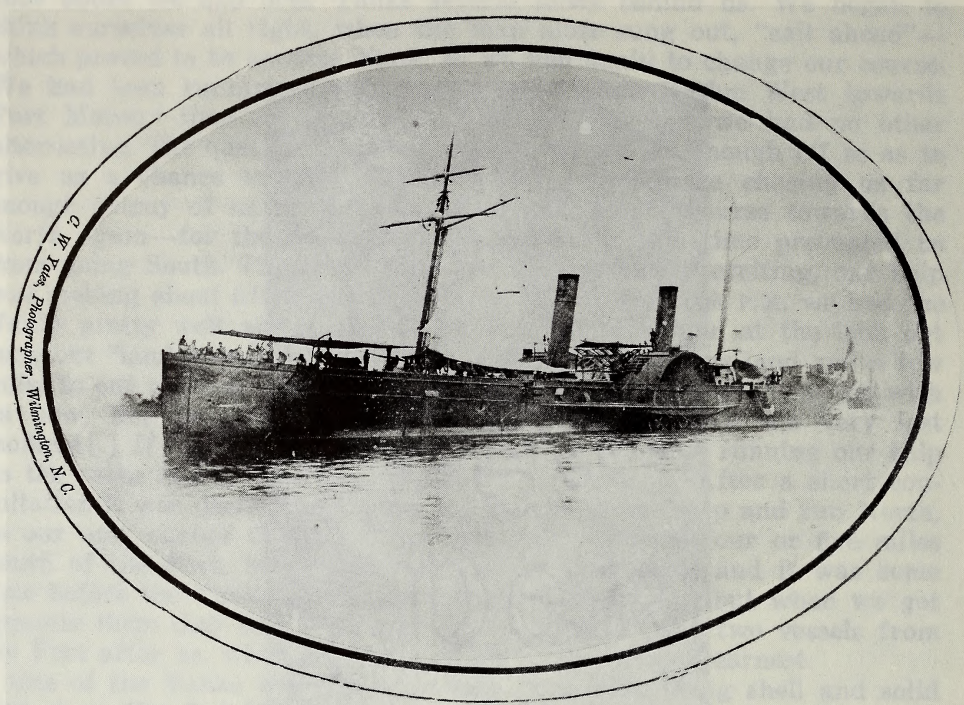
We were now about eighty miles from Fort Fisher,⁷ which we reached about 2 o'clock A.M., but we could not cross the "Bar" as it was low water. I will here explain about "Bar" etc. When the tide is out there is not sufficient water in [the] Cape Fear River for a vessel to enter from the

⁶ Fort Macon fell under Union control on April 26, 1862. As a result of Ambrose E. Burnside's successful expedition against the fort, the Union controlled the Pamlico and Albemarle Sound waterways. For a secondary account of the fall of Fort Macon, see John G. Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 113-120, hereinafter cited as Barrett, *Civil War in North Carolina*.

⁷ Fort Fisher, located at the tip of Confederate Point and the key to defending Cape Fear, was named in honor of Colonel Charles F. Fisher who was killed at First Manassas. Battery Bolles construction began in April, 1861, and this became the nucleus for the larger installation built under the command of Major (later Colonel) William Lamb. For a physical description of this "Rock of Gibraltar" in the South, see Barrett, *Civil War in North Carolina*, 265-266.



Fort Fisher, near the tip of Confederate Point, protected the New Inlet entrance to the Cape Fear River and the port of Wilmington. Photograph from *Tales and Traditions of the Lower Cape Fear, 1661-1896*, by James Sprunt.



Jerome DuShane served as signal officer aboard the Confederate blockade runner "Lady Sterling," pictured above, at the time of her capture on the night of October 28, 1864. Photograph supplied by the U.S. Naval Photographic Center, Washington, D. C.

ocean, consequently all vessels have to go in when it is high tide which occurs every twelve hours. Well that night it was high water at 9 o'clock P.M. consequently it would not be high tide again till 9 o'clock the next morning; therefore we had to anchor outside near the Yankee fleet, but fortunately for us they did not discover us until daylight[.] Then they attempted to cut us off from the Fort [Fisher], but Col[onel] Lamb,⁸ commander of the Fort, sent a few shells after them, so they thought it best to give up. At 9 o'clock we went in and this ended the great chase.⁹

I will here state that all our vessels had to go out and come in when there was no moon, the darker the night the better as the Yankees always kept from ten to fifteen vessels guarding the mouth of the [Cape Fear] River, and we had to run through this fleet going out and coming in.

⁸ Colonel Lamb was a "dashing young Confederate Officer" from Virginia who designed and constructed Fort Fisher to withstand the heaviest Union artillery. James Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1914), 333.

⁹ The date of arrival is not reported but the "North Heath" cleared Bermuda on March 10, 1864, and was reported headed for Wilmington. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series II, III, 1085.

We discharged our cargo¹⁰ and took on cotton with the intention of going to Halifax, Nova Scotia[.] We had scarcely [*sic*] passed the blockading fleet when we sprung a leak, but there was no turning back now, so we concluded we would try to make Bermuda.

Sometimes the firemen were up to their knees in water, but managed to keep the ship afloat till we reached Bermuda.

It was very fortunate for us [that] we did not fall in with any Yankee cruisers, as we certainly would have been taken.

I left the "N.H." at Bermuda and went to Halifax to take charge of the "L.S."¹¹ then nearly [ready] to try her chances at blockade running. We had a very successful trip from Halifax to Wilmington[.]¹² We had but one short chase, the Yankee was too slow for our craft, so we soon left him. We got in safe, discharged our cargo, took on cotton and started down the [Cape Fear] River, but just before reaching Fort Fisher we broke one of our cylinders consequently we had to put back to Wilmington for repairs. We got it fixed. We got it fixed up, so we thought, so we could make the trip, but before we could get into the ocean, it broke again. About this time we were expecting an attack upon Fort Fisher, and did not know what might be the result, so we held a "council of war," and decided to make the attempt with but one cylinder.¹³

Well, we started and just as we crossed the "bar" we ran close up to a Yank, she let fly at us, and the very first shot sent a shell into the fore part of our ship and bursted [*sic*] among [the] cotton setting it on fire, then the chase commenced in earnest.¹⁴ It was not long before three or four more Yanks [were] after us, giving us "Hail Columbus" all the time.¹⁵

Some of them were close up along side of us, but I believe we could have finally escaped them, if it [had] not been our ship was on fire, the heat and smoke drove the firemen from their posts. They did not catch us until we had run about 20 miles. We had as brave a Captain as ever walked the deck of a ship. He was an Englishman,¹⁶ and the whole crew about sixty men—were English and Irish, but they were a cowardly set. The Captain and myself wanted to sink the ship and take our chances in our small boats, but the crew would not hear of it, so we had no other

¹⁰ The cargo consisted of "317 cases, 616 bags, and general manufactured goods." Frank E. Vandiver, *Confederate Blockade Running Through Bermuda* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1947), 128.

¹¹ The "Lady Sterling" was an 835-ton, 242-foot side-wheeler. Pulling a 13' 3" draft, she left Wilmington on October 28, 1864, with one engine and still making 13 knots. She had been built by the British. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series II, I, 124.

¹² The "Lady Sterling" cleared Halifax on September 22, 1864, for Wilmington via Nassau. On September 30 she was reported in the Cape Fear River. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, X, 476; Series I, III, 710.

¹³ The official report of the capture of the "Lady Sterling" affirms that one cylinder was inoperative when she left Wilmington on the night of October 28, 1864. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, XI, 9.

¹⁴ This incident was also reported in the capture report. The shelling by the "Eolus" set the cotton afire. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, XI, 9.

¹⁵ DuShane must have miscounted in the confusion of the chase or his memory erred. The only two Union ships that forced the surrender were the "Eolus" and the "Calypso." *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, XI, 5.

¹⁶ The captain has been identified as D. Cruikshank of London.

alternative but [to] surrender. The Yanks had very hard work to save the vessel, they put the crew of four or five from their ships to work, throwing out the burning cotton, by that means they saved her, but she was pretty well riddled, there were no less than nine holes through her.¹⁷ I tell you it was the hottest place I ever was in, but fortunately I escaped with a few bruises. The Yanks took us to New York [City] where they discharged all the sailors, but they kept the Captain, 1st Mate, Chief Engineer and myself. We were put into the county jail until they could dispose of our cases.¹⁸

After I had been in jail about a week, I had an intimation that they rendered sending me to one of their "hospitals," so I concluded I would "block that little game[.]" I did it "thusly," *threw gold pieces into the eyes of several of their high officials*, and by that means had very little trouble in making my escape. You may be sure I did not stay long in N.Y. I took the first train for Boston, and there took a steamer for Halifax where I arrived safely. I remained in Halifax sometime waiting for a chance to get back to the South, but the opportunity offered, our generals surrendered and the war closed. As I did not wish to go back South after our noble cause had been lost, I went to England and France. I remained there for sometime, then returned to Halifax, from there I sailed for the West Indies. I visited Saint Thomas (Seward's late purchase),¹⁹ Saint Croix, and Porto Rico.

After getting tired of that country I sailed for New Brunswick, British North America. From N.B. I went to Halifax, from there to Prince Edward Island, from there to New Brunswick again, from there back to Halifax where I remained until June 1867 when I sailed for New York. I staid in New York until the last of June when I came out here, so here I am yet; but I expect to start next Spring for some place not yet marked out.

I would like very much to go to Cincinnati, that I might once more take you by the hand. While the war was going on I got hold of a speech you made in Congress[.] ²⁰ I was proud of it, I was proud I could point to it and say I was personally acquainted with its author, that we were boys

¹⁷ It was the crew of the "Calypso" that actually extinguished the fire and threw about one hundred bales of burning cotton overboard. The chase lasted about 2 hours and 35 minutes and covered a distance of about 34 miles. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, XI, 6-7.

¹⁸ The identity of the first mate and chief engineer is not known. The "St. Cloud" towed the "Lady Sterling" to New York harbor. She was sold in the Prize Court to the U.S. Navy for \$135,000 and renamed the "Hornet." The cargo consisted of 980 bales of cotton, 3 tons of tobacco, and \$3,415 in coins. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, XI, 6-7. The cargo sold for more than \$500,000, and each crew member aboard the "Eolus" received \$2,000 in prize money. Hamilton Cochran, *Blockade Runners of the Confederacy* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1958), 293.

¹⁹ When DuShane wrote this letter, Secretary of State William Seward had suggested the purchase of this island, but Reconstruction politics delayed the final action. It was finally purchased in 1917 for \$25 million.

²⁰ On April 8, 1864, Alexander Long, who was a radical Peace Democrat, delivered upon the floor of the House of Representatives a strong anti-Union, anti-Lincoln speech which almost caused his expulsion from that body. *Congressional Globe*, Thirty-eighth Congress, First Session (Washington: Congressional Globe Office, 1864), 1501ff. For a secondary account see Frank L. Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 229-230.

together. Often do I think of the times when we "hunted the coon and the possum" together, but those times have passed away forever. What changes have taken place since we were boys. The woods we used to hunt through have nearly all disappeared, so great has been the change. I can scarcely realize the fact that this is the place where I passed my early boyhood.

I will now close this wandering epistle, lest I weary you.

If at anytime you can spare the time to write me, I shall be most happy to hear from you.

Yours very truly

Jerome DuShane

BOOK REVIEWS

Atlas of North Carolina. By Richard E. Lonsdale, director and chief cartographer, and Others. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967. Illustrations, maps, tables, charts, notes. Pp. x, 158. \$7.50.)

This, indicates the introduction by Dr. Richard E. Lonsdale, associate professor of geography at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is not "the traditional type of atlas." Indeed it is not. An atlas, according to earlier notions, was simply a book of maps, perhaps with a little additional material thrown in. But the present work is much broader and more comprehensive in scope—contains not only many and varied types of maps for different dates, but graphs, pictures, tables, text, and other materials.

The arrangement is mainly topical. First come natural resources, including such topics as land surface, soils, natural vegetation, and so on to coastal fisheries and climatic characteristics. Next comes certain historical information, beginning with the aborigines and early European colonists, running through the Revolutionary and Civil wars, and especially featuring population growth and changes—changes in population by counties, changes in Negro population, urbanization, recent decline in rural population, and out-migration.

A number of varied topics follow—politics, education, hospitals and health, culture, newspapers, retail sales, railroads, highway traffic flow, airports and air routes, and various others. Under manufacturing are covered, as one would expect, textiles, tobacco, furniture, lumber, the clay-brick industry, electrical products, and others. Under the general topic of agriculture, the principal products are shown—tobacco, cotton, peanuts, cattle, broilers, eggs, and others.

Contributors to the volume include many of the best possible specialists in geography, history, agriculture, industry, and allied fields, mainly from the university at Chapel Hill, but others from North Carolina State University, state government, and elsewhere. The book is designed for "businessmen, educators, students, state officials, and interested citizens." No doubt it will be useful in universities, colleges, and high schools. The present writer knows of no other compendium where can be found so much information so graphically presented in so small a compass. Errors appear to be few. But—the Andrew Johnson

birthplace is not—repeat NOT—on the campus of North Carolina State University; it is in Raleigh's Pullen Park. Dr. Clarence Poe and the present writer were responsible for its location there in the late 1930's.

Christopher Crittenden

State Department of Archives and History

Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers of Terry Sanford, Governor of North Carolina, 1961-1965. Edited by Memory F. Mitchell. (Raleigh: Council of State, State of North Carolina, 1966. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xxxvii, 792. Free.)

Governor Terry Sanford had much on his mind and he said most of it. This competently edited documentary record, limited at his request to one volume, contains 65 judiciously selected addresses in toto, clear summaries of 165 more, and a list of 569 others. The total comes to a staggering 799. Completing the volume are well-chosen miscellaneous gubernatorial statements; a biographical sketch by Sanford's press secretary, Graham Jones; a long list of appointments that by unfortunate tradition omits most nonstatutory positions (thus one encounters names of special police but finds no appointment of key staff aides John Ehle and George Stephens, Jr., or of some significant Governor's commissions); concisely worded editorial notes; and an extensive index.

These are the records of an earnest, compassionate, contagiously optimistic man who wanted to be governor, who made bold promises in order to win the office, and who, having been victorious, labored obstinately for four years to fulfill those promises, whether the voters liked it or not. Announcing the arrival of a "new day in North Carolina," he repeatedly exhorted his constituents to build a "better North Carolina" and to move the state to the "forefront of the nation."

In speech after speech—some occasionally eloquent, a few refreshingly imaginative, others at times wearying, all of them sincere and determined (who wrote what? the reader wonders, remembering Sanford's staff of bright, sometimes stiff, young men)—the Governor pleads for "quality education" ("the rock," he said, "upon which I will build the house of my administration"). Like a predecessor, Charles B. Aycock, Sanford was primarily an advocate rather than a philosopher of education. And like Aycock, he was strikingly successful. Impressively reflected in the Sanford papers are major achievements: large increases in teacher pay, a \$100 million bond issue for school

construction, the Governor's School, the Advancement School, the School of the Arts, Operation Second Chance, the Learning Institute, a projected system of community colleges, and new senior colleges. Other efforts were directed toward legislative reapportionment, court reform, aid to the mentally retarded, a poverty program, and enlarged opportunities for Negroes.

Some problems had to be neglected, of course. Missing from the ambitious roll of undertakings (Sanford once listed 88 "different irons in the fire") are, for example, major assaults on abuses of the natural environment and emphasis on birth control as a logical weapon against poverty and mental retardation. But Sanford, like other mortals, had to choose his causes, and who can deny after examining these documents that he chose well.

A limited number of copies are available by request from the State Department of Archives and History, Publications Division, Box 1881, Raleigh, N.C., 27602.

Oliver H. Orr, Jr.

Library of Congress

Ballots and Fence Rails: Reconstruction on the Lower Cape Fear. By W. McKee Evans. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. [Sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, Tennessee], 1967. Preface, maps, appendixes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 314. \$7.50.)

The American Association for State and Local History picked well when it selected this book for its \$2,500 annual prize. It is superb local history but it is more than that, too. By telling the local history of the Lower Cape Fear during the confusing years of Reconstruction, Dr. Evans has given a picture that could have been gotten in no other way.

Dr. Evans is a very good storyteller, and much of the strength of this book lies in that fact. His characters are considerably more than just names on printed pages but emerge as the troubled or bitter or triumphant individuals of the Reconstruction period.

There are the well-known characters such as the northern conquerors, as well as the Ashes, the Bellamys, the Dawsons, the Kidders, the Moores, George Swepson, and William W. Holden. Those names would have to figure in any history of that region, for they were either prominent on the Lower Cape Fear or prominent across the whole state during Reconstruction.

But the names of people who haven't been heard of for a couple of generations have their places in this book, and it is a much better book because of that. These forgotten people help bring all the era to light because of the stories Dr. Evans tells about them. There is John P. Sampson, for example, a native of Wilmington who had studied in the North and had been editor of a Cincinnati newspaper. He appeared to be a handsome young white man—but he was a Negro. His father had been owned by the wealthy Sampson family of Sampson County. His owner had brought him to Wilmington at the age of eighteen and arranged a carpenter's apprenticeship for him. Sampson's father was supposed to have been a Negro, a slave, and a carpenter, but in Dr. McKee's words, "He had neither looked like a Negro, behaved like a slave, nor spent money like a carpenter. In fact, if the real source of the Sampson family's income had come from work on the carpenter's bench, the father must have been a craftsman indeed, the census of 1860 evaluating his property at \$35,000." Sampson was a member of the New Hanover delegation for the Constitutional Convention in Raleigh.

Then there is George Z. French, who came to Wilmington as a Union Army sutler and who became a leading citizen whose experiments in farming became well known. He made a great deal of money but politically was identified with men who were unsuccessful, poor, and had dark skins. When he was seventy, a white-supremacist mob dragged him through Wilmington with a rope around his neck and drove him from the community which he had served so well.

No one should forget Miss Amy Bradley, who came down from the North to establish free education. The yeoman's job she did is still reflected in the schools of New Hanover County, though she herself isn't remembered there anymore.

Dr. Evans, who received the Ph.D. degree at Chapel Hill, is assistant professor of history at California Lutheran College in Thousand Oaks.

Herbert O'Keef

Raleigh Times

North Into Freedom: The Autobiography of John Malvin, Free Negro, 1775-1880. Edited by Allan Peskin. (Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1966. Introduction. Pp. viii, 87. \$4.00.)

The Black Poet, being the remarkable story (partly told my [sic] himself)

of *George Moses Horton, a North Carolina slave*. By Richard Walser. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1966. Drawings, foreword, notes and sources, index. Pp. viii, 120. \$3.50.)

John Malvin was born a slave in Virginia and in 1828 moved to northern Ohio. In Cleveland he learned that the land of freedom held remarkably slender promise for freedmen. There persisted a fear that a Negro migration from the South would flood the Western Reserve. Outwardly it seemed the Negroes were happy in this western island of New England migration and, too, they seemed prosperous. A closer look, however, showed the contrary. Segregation prevailed, and clearly there was a double standard in court trials and in economic affairs. Malvin was successful in persuading the Baptists to break barriers erected against the Negro. This was perhaps the most notable accomplishment of this former slave.

As a minister in the post-Civil War years, Malvin became an influential leader of his people. In established communication with white neighbors he gained their trust and respect. In 1879 he was honored in a public testimonial dinner which reflected how far he had gone in gaining favor for his people. The autobiography was written from an old man's memory and though it reflects the trials of a freedman adjusting to all of the complexities of freedmen within the social and political framework of a white society, it no doubt smooths out many of the bumps. Outwardly this society opposed slavery but it was highly uncertain as to the position which the freedman could expect to occupy in the institutions of freedom.

In *The Black Poet*, Richard Walser has produced a highly exciting story of the life and literary career of George Moses Horton. This unusual slave was born in Northampton County near the Virginia line. He was the slave of William Horton and then of Hall Horton, a son of the former. Sometime in the early part of the first decade of the nineteenth century George Moses learned the alphabet and became conscious of the art of reading, if he did not actually learn to read. As a youth of nineteen or twenty he began to wander into Chapel Hill where he sold fruits and verses to students. For the next half century the slave poet became a familiar figure on the University of North Carolina campus. During this time he turned out a tremendous volume of poetry, much of it on commission from lovelorn students who wished to impress southern maidens with their poems. How little they knew that the muse had inspired not their gallant lads

but a humble slave who could fit his poetic mood to the demands of his commissions.

George Moses Horton was in time to have as friends and benefactors Joseph Caldwell, David L. Swain, Governor John Owen, James Knox Polk, and Shepard Pettigrew. He was also befriended by the sensitive Caroline Lee Hentz, a professor's wife, and by the printer Weston Raleigh Gales.

In time he had poems published in the Lancaster, Massachusetts, *Gazette*, the *Liberator*, and the *Southern Literary Messenger*. In short he became one of the Old South's first literary figures. With the assistance of friends he published a slender booklet, *The Hope of Liberty*, 1829, and *Naked Genius*, 1865.

Never did a southern poet become so enmeshed in the vagaries of history. The turnings of life for George Moses Horton were made abrasive by the evil breaks of the times. The Nat Turner Rebellion, the rising tempo of sectional emotions, the Civil War, and ultimate freedom. In ultimate freedom, however, the old man failed to find the patronage necessary to sustain his literary career. Philadelphians, for instance, were too sophisticated to patronize the humble émigré from the South.

Though rewards were mixed in the lifetime of this unusual southerner and slave, he has found his staunchest friend in Professor Walser who has produced an ably searched account of his life. This is a significant note to both slavery and southern literary history. As a worthy by-product are the reflective views of southern mores and attitudes in a university community in the antebellum years.

Thomas D. Clark

University of Kentucky

A Good Beginning: The First Four Decades of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. By Elisabeth Ann Bowles. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967. Preface, illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. vi, 193. \$6.00.)

From the North Carolina State Normal and Industrial School to the University of North Carolina at Greensboro was a long step—almost a giant stride. In this book Elisabeth Ann Bowles has recorded the most significant era in the seventy-five years of the history of the institution—the years from 1892, when it opened, to 1932, when it became the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

Prepared originally as a thesis at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the book is a detailed and well-documented account of the forty years. Miss Bowles, an alumna of the school of which she writes, has enlivened the history with some vivid glimpses of personalities and customs; readers will probably wish that there were more of such details. The volume is generously illustrated with discriminatingly chosen photographs.

The name first given the school was in keeping with the original purpose as stated by Charles Duncan McIver, founder and first president, in the *Prospectus*, to "increase the efficiency of a woman's work in whatever walk of life her lot may be cast." In 1892 the only conceivable walk of life for a woman was teaching, stenography, or housekeeping; hence the three departments were pedagogy, business, and domestic science. Of the three, the training of teachers was by far the most important.

A school of this nature met the urgent need in education at a time when "it appeared that North Carolina had the poorest school system of any state or territory in the nation with the possible exception of South Carolina." Moreover, there was little interest in any kind of education for women. Obviously academic standards could not be high, either in admission requirements or in the courses given; the author says that "the curriculum of the Normal of 1892 was the equivalent of a high-school program." Diplomas were granted rather than degrees; and in addition to the four-year curriculum, one-year courses were offered in each of the three departments.

Though the increase in numbers of the students and faculty, the enlargement of the campus, and the corresponding addition of buildings and equipment were important factors in the growth of the institution, the development of the curriculum was the most striking and distinctive aspect of the period. Back of the specific purpose for which the school was founded was a larger purpose expressed by McIver in a statement still carried in the current catalog, "It desires to be of the greatest possible use to the people of North Carolina." As educational conditions in the state improved, the normal school, under the wise guidance of McIver and his successor, Julius I. Foust, became a college. Its admission requirements and curriculum were strengthened until the North Carolina College for Women took its place among the liberal arts colleges of the state. Its status as such was recognized in 1921 by its admission to the Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges of the Southern States.

The chapter concerning the faculty rightly emphasizes the early members. In a small, new school the teacher has a more important part in shaping policies and a deeper influence on the students than is possible in an institution in which students are counted by thousands rather than hundreds.

The regulations, organizations, activities, and traditions of those early days doubtless seem quaint to college students of 1967. As in other colleges, the campus life was of much greater importance then than now, when "colleges serve as a springboard for weekends."

The first graduates in 1893 formed the Alumnae Association and adopted as their motto "Service." The contributions which the alumnae have made to their communities and the state, as well as their family and professional activities, amply justify the motto.

Mary Lynch Johnson

Meredith College

The Writings of Christopher Gadsden, 1746-1805. Edited by Richard Walsh. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1966. Illustrations, introduction, notes, appendix, index. Pp. xxviii, 342. \$10.00.)

Christopher Gadsden referred to himself as "Don Quixotte Secundus," and it is almost such a man who emerges from the pages of *The Writings of Christopher Gadsden*. Constantly struggling to bring honor to himself and to further his cause (in this instance, his country) Gadsden was always tilting—frequently at windmills. Gathered in this volume are most of the extant products of the facile, though careless, pen of this greatly neglected South Carolina merchant and revolutionary. Included in the book are letters concerning Gadsden's own affairs as well as those of his colony, state, and nation. There are also newspaper advertisements, polemical essays on politics, and well-done editorial identifications of whatever person or audience Gadsden happened to be addressing.

This volume does not take the place of a biography of Gadsden. Indeed, it becomes even more desirable that someone study this complex man and skillfully evaluate him and his relationship to his times. Richard Walsh does a masterful job of editing the papers of a man who "often wrote in haste, ignoring punctuation and rules of grammar, at the same time inventing abbreviations." The introductory summary of Gadsden's life is too brief to show satisfactorily why its subject shifted from a leader of the mechanics of Charles Town to an

opponent of government by the masses in both South Carolina and the nation. Reference to Walsh's *Charleston's Sons of Liberty* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959) will provide some but not all of the answers. Gadsden's carelessness in construction and his multitude of correspondence are dealt with adequately in the editorial processes. His classical allusions and his frequent use of Latin phrases are not so adroitly handled. In an age when classical knowledge is at a premium, more delineation of sources and topics would be helpful, and a less free hand in rendering translations would preserve more of the flavor of the original.

Despite these failings and some unanswered questions concerning the few items not included, this is a valuable addition to the literature of Revolutionary and early national United States history.

J. Edwin Hendricks

Wake Forest University

Robert Johnson: Proprietary & Royal Governor of South Carolina. By Richard P. Sherman. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1966. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xii, 203. \$6.75.)

In 1930 the eminent Yale historian Leonard Labaree wrote: "In spite of what has been accomplished and what is now in progress, many opportunities remain for needed biographies of colonial governors." In 1967 it is still regrettable that pathetically few studies have been made of the 214 men who actually served in the office of royal governor in the New World to the end of the American Revolution. In the face of this paucity, it was a pleasure to see this biography of a man who was both a proprietary and royal governor of South Carolina. Richard P. Sherman, professor of history at Los Angeles' El Camino College, has assembled a creditably researched biography, utilizing a variety of official and semiofficial records and correspondence.

Robert Johnson, son of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, became governor in 1717 at a time when the forces of resistance to proprietary rule were massing in a campaign to assure royal status for South Carolina. Sherman portrays Governor Johnson as a highly competent administrator in not only having to cope with the machinations of the "popular party," but also in having to deal with Indians, pirates, Spanish, immigration, land disputes, and merchant-planter frictions. Even though deposed as governor after the "Charleston Revolution,"

Johnson was regarded with good will and respect by the people of South Carolina when he left for England in 1723.

Johnson returned to South Carolina in 1730 as royal governor "full of confidence in the future of the Province." In the four years' tenure as governor before his death in 1735, Johnson restored political harmony although confronted with a legislature bent on a quest for power. "His art of ruling was the major step in developing South Carolina into a firm and loyal Province of the British Crown."

Sherman's greatest contribution is in revealing the efforts by Johnson to secure the frontier of South Carolina by developing the so-called "immigrant buffer" concept through his "Township Plan of Settlement."

Unfortunately, though capably researched, it is this reviewer's opinion that in respect to interpretation and literary presentation this study is overshadowed by the portions dealing with Johnson in the late M. Eugene Sirmans' *Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763*.

James K. Huhta

Middle Tennessee State University

Henrietta Johnston of Charles Town, South Carolina: America's First Pastellist. By Margaret Simons Middleton. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1966. Foreword, illustrations, introduction, index. Pp. xvi, 88. \$6.00.)

Information concerning the history of art in the South is very scarce. It is therefore pleasant to report that in her eighty-eight page volume Margaret Simons Middleton has made a major contribution in this very neglected area with an interesting and well-documented account of the life and works of Henrietta Johnston. She has sketched in words, as Mrs. Johnston herself did with her famous pastels, a vivid picture of Colonial Charles Town and the faces seen in it.

Life was not easy in the early eighteenth century for Henrietta, wife of the ailing Commissary for the Bishop of London, Gideon Johnston. There are intriguing accounts of the trip across the ocean to America; the loss at sea of Johnston; reconciliation of the loss by Henrietta and her family; and later the safe return of Johnston after harrowing experiences. A variety of hardships, a trip back to England for each of the family, separately, the fact that her husband was never well received in Charles Town, and finally his death, all contributed

to the building of the staunch character of the pastellist. Ultimately, the final decision to take up the pastellist trade as a livelihood was proof of her maturity and strength.

Mrs. Johnston leaves an ever-growing number of delicately delineated faces of Charles Town folk and a meager group of letters which Mrs. Middleton has carefully interspersed in her charming presentation of America's first pastellist.

This book rates a place alongside of Mrs. Middleton's indispensable study, *Jeremiah Theus: Colonial Artist of Charles Town* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1953).

Ben F. Williams

North Carolina Museum of Art

Bookbinding in Colonial Virginia. By C. Clement Samford and John M. Hemphill II. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1966. Foreword, preface, illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. Pp. xxi, 185. \$4.00.)

This work, a volume in the *Williamsburg Research Studies*, is reproduced from typed copy. It was prepared by Mr. Samford, master bookbinder at Colonial Williamsburg, and Mr. Hemphill, associate professor of history at Southwestern at Memphis, in the series intended "to supply the day-to-day information essential to the accurate preservation and restoration of Virginia's colonial capital, and to supplement the interpretation of Williamsburg." Seven reports have already been published, but this is the first in the category of the handcrafts.

Virginia's first established printer, William Parks, had not only been a printer but also a bookbinder in Maryland before moving to Williamsburg. He brought both arts with him in 1730 and immediately began their practice. In addition to printing he was expected to provide suitable plain coverings for the laws of the colony. Parks' successors through the remaining years of the eighteenth century provided not only practical bindings but handsomely decorated ones as well. There are illustrations of books bound in calf and in blue and red morocco by these craftsmen, and many of them are decorated with gilt and with blind tooling.

Quotations from numerous documents of the period and from contemporary newspapers explain the materials used by bookbinders, the methods they employed, and something of the books themselves. There are detailed descriptions of surviving bindings of the time known

to have been the product of Virginia shops. Extracts from the daybook of printer-bookbinder William Hunter from 1750 to 1766 tell much of the variety of titles with which he worked, who some of his clients were, and the charges he made for his work.

There are careful bibliographical descriptions of the eighteenth-century books examined by the authors and accepted as examples of the work of Virginia bookbinders. There are sixteen examples of decorative devices used on bindings, and a classified bibliography of sources. The index is adequate, and the paper binding of this history of handsome and practical leather bindings of the eighteenth century seems more substantial than the average paper binding of the twentieth century.

The authors have surely combed every possible source, and they undoubtedly have related everything of interest which they found on the subject. Much of what they say, however, is based on what was typical of the time or on what can be deduced from surviving bindings presumed to have come from the hands of Virginia bookbinders. Readers are grateful for the information they have garnered but leave the book wanting to know more of this rare Colonial craft.

William S. Powell

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Jefferson at Monticello: Memoirs of a Monticello Slave, as dictated to Charles Campbell by Isaac. *Jefferson at Monticello: The Private Life of Thomas Jefferson*, by Rev. Hamilton Wilcox Pierson. Edited by James A. Bear, Jr. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1957. Editor's note, introduction, illustrations, appendix, notes, index. Pp. xiv, 144. Paper, \$1.85; cloth, \$4.00.)

James A. Bear, Jr., the curator of Monticello, has brought together in this volume the only known reminiscences of life at Monticello by men—one a slave, the other an overseer—who lived there under Jefferson's direction. Isaac, whose memoirs were recorded by Charles W. Campbell in 1847, was born a slave at Monticello in 1775, spent four years as a tinner's apprentice in Philadelphia while Jefferson was secretary of state, and later worked as a tinner and nail cutter at Monticello. The view of the master of Monticello from the eyes of a slave provides an unusual and engaging glimpse of the domestic life of Jefferson. Less familiar than the memoirs of Isaac, which have appeared in two previous editions (1951, 1955), is the account based

on the reminiscences of Edmund Bacon, who served as overseer or, as Jefferson called him, farm manager at Monticello from 1806 to 1822. The narrative was written by Hamilton W. Pierson, who, while president of Cumberland College in Kentucky from 1858 to 1861, found Bacon living on a farm in nearby Trigg County. In a series of interviews he recorded Bacon's recollections, which were supported by letters, instructions from Jefferson, and other papers in Bacon's possession. The account, in which the reminiscences and the papers were incorporated, was printed in 1862, and, while used by James Parton in his biography of Jefferson, is not widely known today.

The usefulness of the two accounts is enhanced by their publication together where the recollections of the two men may be compared. Both documents share the defects inherent in recollections as historical sources and the further difficulty that neither account was actually written by the participant himself but was recorded by a third party. Yet, in general, the accounts strengthen each other, both in regard to broad impressions and specific details. The wider range of observation enjoyed by the overseer makes his recollections the fuller, though, as the editor suggests, Bacon implied a greater intimacy with Jefferson than the contemporary records would indicate. The accounts must be used with caution, but the editor has carefully provided footnotes to aid the reader and the scholar, and the narratives serve to broaden the picture left by the contemporary records of Jefferson's personal characteristics and his private life at Monticello.

Noble E. Cunningham, Jr.

University of Missouri

John Letcher of Virginia: The Story of Virginia's Civil War Governor. By F. N. Boney. University: University of Alabama Press [*Southern Historical Publications No. 11*], 1967. Introduction, notes, selected bibliography, index. Pp. 319. \$6.95.)

John Letcher, Civil War Governor of Virginia, has long been overshadowed by two more colorful and controversial Confederate Governors, Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina and Joseph E. Brown of Georgia. Professor F. N. Boney has redressed the balance in this first biography of a neglected political figure.

Letcher came from the Valley of Virginia and throughout his political career was a spokesman for the western counties. At one time he opposed slavery, but when the institution became important in

western Virginia, his opposition changed to vigorous support. In tracing the political career of Letcher, Professor Boney does an excellent job of explaining the intricacies of Virginia politics. Letcher served eight years in Congress and became governor in 1860 on the eve of the Civil War.

Letcher was typical of those western leaders who opposed secession. He called for harmony between the sections and in December, 1860, condemned South Carolina's hasty action. The Virginia Governor continued to resist the pressure of the Radicals until the firing upon Ft. Sumter. After Virginia left the Union, Letcher devoted his energies to arming the state.

Professor Boney presents a detailed account of Letcher's governorship. Along with other southern governors, he objected to the centralizing tendencies of the Confederacy, but unlike Vance and Brown, he did not engage in obstructionist tactics. The presence of the Davis government in Richmond tended to overshadow the governor of Virginia and the proximity of the fighting front made the actions of the Confederate government more understandable.

Letcher did not oppose conscription or the imposition of martial law, but he did embarrass Confederate authorities by his insistence that they turn Union prisoners of war over to the state of Virginia for trial on charges of treason. Although the Virginia Governor was less troublesome to President Davis than some southern governors, he did not provide the vitally necessary dynamic leadership for the state. It is here that there is the sharpest contrast with the administrations of Governors Vance and Brown.

Author Boney presents Letcher as both a timid and inflexible leader unsuited to a wartime emergency and as a realistic governor ready to "replace hoary doctrine with common sense and flexibility," but he makes a stronger case for the former.

Richard D. Younger

University of Houston

Messages of the Governors of Tennessee. Volume VII, 1883-1899. Edited by Robert H. White. (Nashville, Tennessee: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1967. Pp. vi, 769. Illustrations, appendixes, topical index, general index. \$4.00.)

This is the seventh time that Robert H. White has applied his prodigious knowledge of Tennessee history to the task of compiling

and editing the messages of that state's governors to its legislature. Covering the years 1883-1899, this volume comprehends the administrations of four governors (or five, depending on how one counts Robert L. Taylor's third but not successive term): William Brimage Bate, 1883-1887; Robert Love Taylor, 1887-1891; John Price Buchanan, 1891-1893; Peter Turney, 1893-1897; and Robert L. Taylor, 1897-1899. Quite appropriately, Dr. White labels this period as one of "Sunshine and Shadow," in view of "so many 'ups and downs,' consisting in part of legislative filibustering and general pussy-footing," that occurred during this almost two decades of Tennessee government. Aside from war and reconstruction, no other period of the state's history embraced so many legislative crises or required the calling of so many special sessions in addition to the regular ones in an effort to transact valid public business.

As in earlier volumes issued in this series, the editor has supplied a biographical sketch of each governor, an account of the circumstances surrounding his nomination and election, and a convenient summary of the main events of his administration. In addition, there is appended to each message a detailed explanation of the problems that called forth the message in question along with information as to the success or failure it met with in the legislature. Such a procedure has the effect of providing what is substantially a legislative history of the state during the period covered by the particular volume.

Among the events occurring in Tennessee history during the years 1883-1899 and treated in this volume, especial significance attaches to the absconding of the state treasurer during the Bate administration, leaving behind him a deficit of nearly \$300,000; the so-called "War of the Roses," perhaps the most unique political canvass in American history, pitting blood brothers "Bob" and "Alf" Taylor against each other in a gubernatorial race; the appearance and rapid spread of the Farmers' Alliance in Tennessee, resulting in the election of John P. Buchanan, whose one term was disturbed by repeated riots among East Tennessee coal miners who objected to competing with leased convicts from the penitentiary; the storm created by a series of political movements, including the alleged "steal" of the governorship by the Democrats in 1895, that handicapped both of Peter Turney's terms of office; and the reentry of Robert L. Taylor into the political arena in 1897 as in all probability the only Democrat who could have been elected after the machinations of this party during Turney's administration.

Three more volumes will be required to complete the ten that are projected in this series. It is to be hoped that these will be forthcoming within the not too distant future and that they will prove as interesting and instructive as the seven that have appeared thus far.

James W. Patton

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

The Toombs Oak, The Tree That Owned Itself, and Other Chapters of Georgia. By E. Merton Coulter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1966. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. vii, 264. \$6.00.)

The nine essays in this book originally appeared in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* and have been gathered into a volume apparently as a tribute to Professor Emeritus E. Merton Coulter. They are chiefly of a problem-solving and debunking nature; it seems that Robert Toombs did not deliver a famous oration under the Toombs Oak, nor did the "Tree That Owned Itself" ever own itself. Other legends and traditions are also explored and exploded by the author. The story that "Home, Sweet Home" was composed by John Howard Payne for a Georgia sweetheart is revealed as pure invention, as is also the charge that Payne assisted in plotting an Indian uprising. The two essays contributing most valuably to historical knowledge are "Slavery and Freedom in Athens, Georgia, 1860-1866," and "Henry M. Turner: Georgia Negro Preacher-Politician During the Reconstruction Era." Certainly the most sensational is the account of the Woolfolk murder trials of 1887-1890; the dullest is the seven-page account of the Acadians in Georgia, which hardly seems worthy of the time spent in research. The two remaining essays describe the formation of Clarke County, Georgia, and the career of mathematics professor and Confederate volunteer, William D. Wash.

Professor Coulter, as always, sets a high standard of utilization of all possible sources in state and local history. This reviewer still objects to the publisher who places footnotes at the back, especially interesting explanatory footnotes, of which there are many in this volume. The illustrations would have been better if printed on glossy paper.

Except for convenience, the book has no special *raison d'être*, but it will be of interest to Georgians and to friends of Professor Coulter.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon

Meredith College

The Lazy South. By David Bertelson. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. Preface, notes, index. Pp. xiv, 284. \$6.75.)

At a time when contemporaries have written epitaphs for Dixie and historians have questioned whether southerners have ever really been so unlike other Americans, David Bertelson has written a volume in which he maintains that the people south of the Mason-Dixon line have always been different—from the earliest settlements to the present time.

Bertelson implicitly rejects Carl Bridenbaugh's contention that there was no "Colonial South," but merely a heterogeneous people living in the colonies below Pennsylvania; on the contrary, he asserts that the inhabitants of that region had by the mid-eighteenth century "defined a style of life and a set of values which can appropriately be called Southern." Was it slavery that made the South distinctive? No, says Bertelson: "Negro servitude did not make the southern colonies different from New England and Pennsylvania. They were different first." Were geographical conditions responsible? No again, he argues: "Geography did not create the South. . . . The difference lay not in the land but in the people. . . ." And what then made the southern people unlike other Americans? It was, he maintains, "the different attitudes and assumptions which they brought with them and their descendants perpetuated."

What really mattered were the regional attitudes concerning work. The founders of both New England and Virginia were concerned—as were many Englishmen of their day—with the elimination of idleness, which they interpreted in the traditional sense as meaning the "absence of rational, purposeful, socially oriented labor." In Massachusetts, where the Puritan fathers stressed work as the fulfillment of man's obligation to God, an authoritarian social order was established and a hardy concept of social unity prevailed. In Virginia, on the other hand, the founders hoped that the prospect of reward would lure men out of idleness, but they soon discovered that a system based

almost exclusively on personal economic advancement failed to develop a strong sense of community.

Virginians soon applied a second meaning to idleness: the failure to take advantage of economic opportunities. Thus work tended to be regarded as synonymous with busyness in pursuit of wealth. Why should one work if the activity failed to yield rewards? And why should one be content to live modestly by the sweat of his own brow when he could live prosperously by utilizing slave labor? Yet the old traditional view of idleness did not completely die. While spokesmen of the Old Dominion and other southern colonies often praised the qualities of graciousness and easy living which they associated with their society, they also wrote jeremiads deploring the fact that their settlements lacked those orderly characteristics they admired in the more traditionally industrious society of New England. Such lamentations, Bertelson maintains, "represented a desire for the kind of society the age accepted as natural, [but] they were also an admission of how strongly colonists were attached to the way things were."

By the antebellum period a tradition of praising leisure had been transformed into a means of justifying the superiority of southern social values. As economic depression pervaded the older plantation areas, it was comforting to believe that the southern planter whose fortune had ebbed away lacked the mercenary outlook of the enterprising, acquisitive Yankee. Yet, as Bertelson points out, this attitude served the region ill. While some southerners urged diversification to economy of the South, the strong allegiance to the "Southern way of life" effectively blocked industrial progress.

Bertelson has written a provocative book in which he challenges the views of such historians of the South's past as Wilbur J. Cash, C. Vann Woodward, and David N. Potter. "To the degree that America has meant economic opportunity without social obligations or limitations," he writes, "Southerners are Americans and Americans Southerners. Yet America has also been a nation of men professing a common allegiance and social values which have operated to check unlimited self-aggrandizement and its effects. In this sense the jeremiads were not really mistaken in noting differences North and South." In other words, it would seem, southerners have come closer than other Americans to fitting the stereotype of the greedy, self-centered, predatory Yankee!

Edwin A. Miles

University of Houston

The Age of Civil War and Reconstruction, 1830-1900: A Book of Interpretative Essays. Edited by Charles Crowe. (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1966. Preface, bibliographies, notes, index of authors. Pp. x, 479. \$6.60.)

One of the publishing phenomena of the age is the plethora of college history "readings" books now pouring forth from the presses. Among these anthologies the large paperback "book of interpretative essays" that Professor Charles Crowe of the University of Georgia has put together stands out as one of the most distinguished. It concentrates upon a single theme of the period 1830-1900: the struggle for the elevation of the Negro from slavery to full citizenship. All the selections come from the works of recent historians who are committed, in varying degrees, to the cause of civil rights. The editor explains: "It seems self-defeating for those who wish to depart from the narrow vista of the textbook world to assign students, without adequate explanation, and as if the scholarship of the various generations existed on the same plane of meaning, the more precise, sophisticated and thoughtful work of leading contemporary scholars such as Kenneth M. Stampf, John Hope Franklin and C. Vann Woodward, side by side with essays by James Ford Rhodes, William A. Dunning, and Ulrich B. Phillips from the high era of racism and imperialism of fifty years ago." Well said, but if the object is historical understanding as well as the advancement of a present-day cause, surely there is also a place for items (with "adequate explanation") that would show the tangle of emotions and rationalizations—and even occasional elements of truth and virtue—on the other side. Though this collection hardly reflects the complexity of the subject, it does extremely well what it sets out to do. Every one of the selections is interesting, important, well worth reading in its own right. The bibliographies are remarkably comprehensive and up to date, so far as the newer writings are concerned. The editor's own essays, introducing the ten sections into which the volume is divided, are gems of historiographical summary and interpretations. All in all, the book is to be recommended to the student, teacher, and general reader as the best available introduction to the current trend in the historiography of slavery, antislavery, emancipation, Reconstruction, and the ensuing triumph of racism.

Richard N. Current

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

At Ease in Zion: A Social History of Southern Baptists, 1865-1900. By Rufus B. Spain. (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967. Preface, bibliography, appendixes, index. Pp. xiii, 247. \$6.95.)

At Ease in Zion is a scholarly work with a popular title. The thesis of this "social history of Southern Baptists, 1865-1900" is aptly summarized in the title. In a time of rapid social change and of the emergence of serious social problems, the largest religious group in the South remained essentially "at ease."

To gather his information the author made some use of official denominational reports. His chief source, however, was the weekly denominational papers. That these are the best sources cannot be questioned. The adequacy of such a sampling study as the one described on page 215, however, is open to question.

The author explains in his Preface that the views of the editors were not official but only representative. Yet he uses editorials in the same manner as he does denominational reports, thereby implying that the views were official. He rarely identifies an editor by name, again implying that it is the denomination speaking. And one wonders: Were there no differences between the various editors of the same state paper between 1865 and 1900? Were there no differences between the various state papers?

This reviewer is concerned about what the author does *not* say. In order to understand the Baptists in the South, it is necessary to understand the rest of the South. What did the Methodists think? The Presbyterians? The Disciples? The Episcopalians? Were Baptists radically different? If so, what were those differences? If not, did they simply reflect the dominant culture or did they change it to fit their pattern? Were they ever in advance of their culture? Occasionally the author indicates that he is aware of this problem. He says, for example, that the "beliefs of Baptists about Negroes and whites" were not "held exclusively by Baptists." But he proceeds then to talk about "the racial views of Baptists"! Perhaps they were not *Baptist* views but *southern* views.

This book is helpful to the historian and the churchman. It confirms some preconceived ideas and upsets others. It helps explain certain ideas that are current in the South today. It would be more helpful if it could be compared with similar studies of other southern religious groups.

Roger H. Crook

Meredith College

Forgotten Voices: Dissenting Southerners in an Age of Conformity. Edited by Charles E. Wynes. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967. Illustrations, introduction, suggested readings. Pp. xii, 138. \$4.50.)

In the current period of racial tensions it is helpful to recall that similar problems plagued an earlier era. And it is of interest to see how some perceptive, thinking southerners spoke out against the then prevailing attitudes.

Professor Wynes has brought together in this slim volume seven such essays ranging in time from those by George Washington Cable and Thomas U. Dudley in 1885 to that by Quincy Ewing in 1909. A brief introduction sketches the rapid growth of racism, segregation, and disfranchisement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The essayists then speak for themselves in analyzing and criticizing in various ways the prevailing southern racial attitudes and patterns. In a brief introduction to each essay, Wynes provides relevant biographical information on the writer and summarizes the principal significance of the essay.

Some of the writers, such as Cable (whose "Freedman's Case in Equity" accounts for one fourth of the book) and Lewis Harvie Blair, have enjoyed recent revivals in other publications. The other essayists are: Dudley and Ewing (both Episcopal ministers), John Spencer Bassett and Andrew Sledd (both college professors who experienced harsh adverse reactions to their ideas), and Thomas E. Watson (who completely reversed his friendly attitude toward Negroes in his embittered later years). Some of the arguments are based on moral and ethical reasoning, and others on more legalistic and pragmatic grounds. To this reviewer, the essays by Cable and Ewing are the most thoughtful and significant. Both go to the heart of the problem by exposing the hypocrisy of southerners in defending a caste system designed permanently to degrade the Negro.

It may be difficult, as the editor observes, to understand how some of these writers accepted the now completely discredited beliefs concerning the innate inferiority of Negroes. Nor is it easy to comprehend why this seemingly mild criticism (such as Sledd's denunciation of lynching) should have provoked such bitter resentment. A collection of southern writings illustrating all shades of opinion on the Negro problem might make the early twentieth-century ideas clearer to present day readers.

Allen J. Going

University of Houston

With the Bark On: Popular Humor of the Old South. Compiled and edited by John Q. Anderson. Drawings by Mary Alice Bahler. (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967. Foreword, introduction, illustrations, index. Pp. xi, 337. \$7.50.)

Whether viewed in the heroic mold of Dale Van Every's "frontier people" series or in the caricature of Snuffy Smith and Dogpatch, the backwoods American of the pre-Civil War generation was a unique individual. "The ruder but not less noble specimens of human kind that are dwellers of the Western tier of the States," one observer called them, were loyal to friends and unrelenting to foes, blunt and straight-forward in their discourse, robust and ribald in their amusements. Their entertainments were usually games made of essential activities, like the turkey shoot or the husking bee, and their humor was an extension of reality into the hyperbole of the tall tale. A reading of popular fun fiction by and about frontiersmen therefore offers insights into the miseries and joys of backwoods life.

This book is a collection of seventy short newspaper stories illustrating popular humor in the Old Southwest—not, as the subtitle implies, of the Old South. All but seven of these selections appeared in William T. Porter's weekly newspaper *Spirit of the Times* between 1831 and 1860. Most of them were the work of authors who prudently disguised themselves behind colorful pseudonyms such as "The Turkey Runner," "Ruff Sam," "Obe Oilstone," or "Pardon Jones." They dealt with universal plots—the boring story-teller on the river steamer whose tallest tales were topped, the champion horsetrader taken in by a jokester, the nonsense sermon of an illiterate evangelist, or the embarrassed gentleman who unwittingly undressed for bed in the darkened stateroom of a strange lady. Perhaps the best written is an account of a new town in Arkansas whose enthusiastic promoters "in their mad dreaming" were certain that half-a-dozen railroads could center nowhere else. "Concordia," the author of the satire, was a well-read and widely traveled observer of life and language.

As humor these tales are mostly failures, so rapid is the attrition that wit suffers from time. As belles lettres they must be relegated to the category of subliterature or regarded as promising prototypes of realism. But as witnesses to the lives of the backwoodsmen, "noble specimens of nature's man that form the barebreasted wall of our vast frontier," they are superb. The selection is judicious, the editing

meticulous but unobtrusive, and the printing is handsome. These stories convey an image of frontier life as it was, or, as Davy Crockett would say, here is the backwoodsman "with the bark on."

David L. Smiley

Wake Forest University

Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom. By Merton L. Dillon. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966. Frontispiece, bibliography, index. Pp. viii, 285. \$6.75.)

This book fills a real void in the history of the early antislavery movement. It is the first full-length biography of Benjamin Lundy, the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*; and because he was involved in so many aspects of the movement, it serves also as a useful study of some of the first organizations of this sort. As a Quaker, Lundy determined to do all that he could to do away with slavery, and he cultivated southern antislavery leaders. One of the important contributions of the book is to show that some of the first and most important antislavery movements developed in the South and the West rather than in the East. Lundy was actively interested in anything that would further the end of slavery. He started a humane society in 1816 and began the publication of his newspaper in 1821. He supported existing colonization societies and tried to organize several efforts of his own. He was actively interested, for example, in a colony in Haiti and even undertook a visit to Texas to investigate the possibility of establishing a substantial Negro colony there.

It was Lundy who first drew William Lloyd Garrison into the antislavery movement. Lundy was in a sense more practical than Garrison and less inclined to immediate and drastic measures. Lundy recognized that there were racial problems involved in the abolition of slavery and that was the reason he so strongly supported the colonization movement.

Although the author was handicapped by the fact that Lundy's personal papers were destroyed in the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, he has drawn a remarkably vivid picture of Lundy, the man. Frail and sickly throughout his life, Lundy still was carried forward by his

overriding desire to free the slave and to do it under circumstances which would make a good life possible for the freed Negro.

The book is well written and well documented.

Philip Davidson

University of Louisville

Early American Winters, 1604-1820. By David M. Ludlum. (Boston: American Meteorological Society [*History of American Weather Series*], 1966. Foreword, index. Pp. xii, 285. \$10.00.)

Early American Winters, 1604-1820 is the second historical monograph in the *History of American Weather Series* published by the American Meteorological Society. The author explains his intent as the recording in chronological order and proper geographical setting of meteorological details pertaining to extreme weather conditions over the eastern United States. He has accordingly arranged accounts under the headings of the "Northeast," the "Old South," and the "Old Northwest," concluding with a "Winter Anthology," giving local color or expanding accounts found in the main body of the text. Weather conditions have never been the object of organized study beyond previous accounts of major storms of particularly extreme seasons. The content is naturally weighted toward the northeastern area where, as Ludlum observes, the weather was more extreme and observers were more prevalent and more literary.

Earliest accounts come from New France in Champlain's diary of his exploration in Canada. Plymouth landing is described as a "happenance largely induced by the current meteorological situation." Pennsylvania is represented in a letter from William Penn describing the winter and extolling the climate. The Carolinas offer no daily accounts but "several interesting climatological documents written in defense of the questioned salubrity of the region."

In the eighteenth century the significance of the Great Snow of February-March, 1717, is recognized in the statement "there is no event of a non-political nature in New England history that has acquired such a reverential status." Winters of the Revolution include accounts of the Quebec expedition, the winter siege of Boston, Trenton, Princeton, Morristown, and Valley Forge. The Old South in the eighteenth century produced few observations in personal diaries or newspapers. Sources are largely letters and reports of public officials

and such volumes as John Lawson's and John Brickell's histories of North Carolina, the journal of Ann Manigault, and John Bartram's diary. Other interesting sources are George Washington's recordings of meteorological events and Thomas Jefferson's *Garden Book* and *Weather Memorandum Book*. The "Winter Anthology" contains some particularly pleasing narratives, such as "A Sermon Preached at Narraganset, March 15, 1740," by missionary James MacSparran, and "A Snowstorm as It Affects the American Farmer," by St. John de Crèvecoeur. In addition to his contribution to scientific literature on meteorology, Ludlum has succeeded in making the weather an interesting topic for reading and conversation. Each section is carefully footnoted and the anthology selections are preceded by brief pertinent sketches of the writers. Scientific charts add value to the descriptions. The author's continuing interest in the subject is found in his plea to researchers for aid in locating further meteorological records or descriptions of weather, either in manuscript or in print.

Beth Crabtree

State Department of Archives and History

The First Ten: The Founding Presidents and Their Administrations. By Alfred Steinberg. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967. Foreword, bibliography, index. Pp. ix, 493. \$6.50.)

The presidency is highly honored in America, Steinberg points out, even when a particular president is not respected. This he attributes not primarily to the immense power of the office, but to the good foundation laid by the first ten presidents. A few examples: Washington took over the treaty-making power, Jefferson drew the actions of Congress so firmly under control that he enabled the White House to play a prominent role in initiating legislation, and Tyler succeeded, after a hard fight, in establishing the rule that when a president dies in office the successor becomes a full president rather than an "acting president."

This is a story of the day-to-day experiences in the lives of the nation's chief executives. It is written in a lively style and is full of human interest items. The important laws are mentioned, not to analyze them but to show how they affected the presidency.

In such a general work as this, based essentially on secondary works, it is inevitable that some errors should creep in, such as,

"Hamilton argued that the Federal Government . . . could do anything so long as the Constitution did not expressly forbid it," and America "expected a French invasion" in 1798. One wonders, also, if the nation's leaders were so completely self-centered as Steinberg indicates. Jackson, Clay, and Tyler, especially, are pictured as men whose sole concern on every issue was how it would affect their personal political fortunes.

The controversies of the day are always kept in focus, and nearly every president is seen as a constant target of malicious criticism by his rivals and enemies. Presidents of great stature or firm will, such as Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, and Jackson, came breasting through; but others, such as J. Q. Adams, Van Buren, and Tyler, seem to have suffered so intensely as to make it appear not worthwhile to be a president.

This book will make good reading for high school and college students and for general readers. It is hoped that Steinberg will continue the work through two more volumes.

Gilbert L. Lycan

Stetson University

Social Reform in the United States Navy, 1789-1862. By Harold D. Langley. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967. Preface, bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 309. \$8.50.)

The purpose of this study as indicated by the author in his Preface is to examine the impact of the nineteenth-century reform fever on the United States Navy, especially on the "common sailor."

Professor Langley begins his study by reviewing briefly the history of the United States Navy during its formative years, 1789-1815. He follows this review with a study of the years of decline and reform, 1815-1862.

After discussing the decline which set in in the Navy in the years following the War of 1812, Professor Langley proceeds to illustrate the influence of reform efforts on the life of the common seamen by thoroughly investigating and vividly reporting the results of four related themes. He begins with the origins and activities of religiously motivated societies dedicated to working with and on behalf of naval and merchant seamen, with special emphasis on the American Seamen's Friend Society. The author credits this society and its associated

organizations with promoting reforms which resulted in drastic changes in the life of the "common sailor" by 1862. In addition to the religious life of the seamen, members of the Friend Society gave special attention to the custom of corporal punishment and the giving of a daily ration of intoxicating liquor to seamen. They also directed their attention to abuses in connection with enlistments and discharges. The author carefully traces the steady progress toward ultimate success in all the foregoing areas of activity. Flogging as a means of punishment was abolished in 1850, the liquor ration was discontinued in 1862. By that year the policies of the Navy regarding enlistments and discharges had been radically changed in favor of the seamen. Professor Langley considers all these reforms the equivalent of the "rise of the common man" so far as the navy enlisted man was concerned.

Professor Langley's study is scholarly, readable, and fills a void in American historiography. The footnotes and excellent bibliography indicate a painstaking study of the source materials and secondary works relating to the study. A warm sympathy for the navy enlisted man is revealed throughout the volume. The author has succeeded in portraying in a fascinating manner the impact of the humanitarian spirit on the "common sailor" from 1798 to 1862.

Alvin A. Fahrner

East Carolina University

The Centennial Years: A Political and Economic History of America from the Late 1870's to the Early 1890's. By Fred A. Shannon. Edited by Robert Huhn Jones. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1967. Illustrations, preface, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xx, 362. \$6.95.)

This book is an unexpected and welcome bonus—a posthumous dividend from the pen of Fred A. Shannon. When he died in 1963 even Professor Shannon's critics in the historical profession recognized that a craftsman of the first order was gone. A debt is owed, therefore, to Shannon's former graduate students collectively and to Robert Huhn Jones in particular for editing and carrying through to publication this manuscript on which their mentor had been working for eight years and had virtually completed by the time of his death. While *The Centennial Years* is rather narrowly circumscribed topically and chronologically to "a political and economic history of America from the late 1870's to the early 1890's," the fact that Shannon was most

noted for his work in nineteenth-century agricultural history made it appropriate for him to focus the attention of his last years on that period when farming, industry, and commerce were in a state of rapid and sometimes violent change.

There is relatively little new factual knowledge in this book. The author eschewed manuscript collections as unnecessary for a "general treatise." But however much one way quarrel with that decision, he cannot find fault with Shannon's thorough and careful review of the printed word—twenty-four pages of tightly printed bibliographical entries attest to his scholarship. In fact, the book's significant contribution is Shannon's distillation of the current and historical literature relating to this pivotal period of American history and his trenchant analysis of the events which took place. This analysis, as those who knew Shannon's earlier writings would expect, is a relatively unsophisticated defense of the farmer, the industrial worker, and the underdog, generally accompanied by a caustic attack on the "robber baron," the inept labor leader, and the corrupt politician. As Editor Jones observes in a lengthy and helpful preface, Shannon was an unreconstructed Populist and because of this his book is a healthy antidote to the entrepreneurial and urban historians who describe the antics of the business leaders of the period in terms of "industrial statesmanship" and who seize upon chance remarks or irrelevant inconsistencies in the farmers' protests to condemn out of hand the agrarian movement.

James A. Tinsley

University of Houston

The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Edited by Arthur S. Link, with John W. Davidson and David W. Hurst, associate editors. Volume II, 1881-1884. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xvi, 680. \$15.00.)

Shortly after his abrupt withdrawal from the University of Virginia Law School late in 1880, Woodrow Wilson confessed to one of his closest friends from Princeton days: "I've fallen fairly in love with speech-making—which is a real luxury after one struggles to the lead . . . of a body of men and begins to realize that he can gain a hearing when others might find difficulty in doing so, and can, by an effort, change a vote while others fail to command their hearers' sympathies. . . . I think that an orator is made, in great part, and if

there be in me any stuff worth the working, I intend to make as much of an orator out of myself as indefatigable labor can bring out of the materials at hand."

With this kind of ambition pushing him on, Wilson still clung to his notion of becoming a lawyer. This volume covers the eventful period when he actually tried the law for about a year in Atlanta, found it intellectually disappointing, and moved on in the fall of 1883 to enter upon graduate studies in history and political science at Johns Hopkins University. These were the years, too, when he fell in love with and was rejected by his cousin, Hattie Woodrow. Then in the spring of 1883, while visiting in Rome, Georgia, he attended services at the First Presbyterian Church and was impressed by a young woman in a nearby pew. She turned out to be the preacher's daughter, Ellen Louise Axson, and by September of the same year, on the eve of his departure for Baltimore, Wilson had become engaged to her and begun the correspondence which makes up a substantial and fascinating part of this volume.

Buoyed by his new and great love, Wilson entered on his graduate studies. His letters described the sessions of Professor Herbert Baxter Adams' famed "Seminary," where graduate instruction first came of age in the United States. Before many weeks had passed, the twenty-seven-year-old Wilson, who already knew that he wanted to pursue his constitutional studies, decided that he would receive "little aid or stimulation" from his professors. "Of our three Ph.D.'s," he reported to Ellen, "one is insincere and superficial, the second a man stuffed full of information but apparently much too full to have any movement which is not an impulse from somebody else, and the third merely a satellite of the first." (The editors suggest that he was referring to Adams, Richard T. Ely, and John F. Jameson, probably in that order.)

But the library facilities were splendid, "many very choice spirits . . . from all parts of the country" were gathered at the Hopkins, and, more than ever, he was determined to fulfill his "very pronounced political ambitions" by becoming a professor, by acquiring "a special training in historical research and an insight into the most modern literary and political thoughts and methods, in order that my ambition to become an invigorating and enlightening power in the world of political thought and a master in some of the less serious branches of literary art may be the more easy of accomplishment." Admitting his presumption, he nevertheless confessed his consciousness in "his

most secret heart of making not the least pretension to *genius* and of relying altogether on hard work and a capacity for being taught."

Robert F. Durden

Duke University

Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt. By Richard S. Kirkendall. (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1966. Introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 358. \$7.00.)

It is a truism that the writing of "recent" history poses special hazards—the problem of perspective, the restrictions placed on important documents, the influence of current biases and prejudices. Yet historians who investigate the later years often enjoy such compensating advantages as the sheer quantity of information available and the opportunity to interview prominent participants. Professor Kirkendall has been fortunate in realizing most of the advantages and at the same time escaping most of the hazards. His impressive research is at its best in utilization of the voluminous records of the United States Department of Agriculture in the National Archives, and of Columbia University's Oral History Collection, and his own numerous interviews. He also proves adept at using all types of published material.

Strongly influenced by Merle Curti since his graduate-school days, Kirkendall is generally interested in intellectual history, and particularly interested in intellectuals who go into the service of government. For his book he concentrates on the rather large group of social scientists whose planning for agriculture between 1930 and 1946 was widely known, controversial, and significant. The "service intellectual" of the New Deal was a direct descendant of the "scholar in politics" of the Progressive era.

Analysis of the role played by these university-trained men—"brain trusters"—begins with the first year of the depression, when two of the ablest, M. L. Wilson and Howard Tolley, worked with a Minnesota congressman in preparing a bill. That bill set forth the basic principles which all three favored for American farmers: agricultural adjustment, research and education, and democratic planning. Two years later the social scientists, now including Rexford G. Tugwell, persuaded Franklin D. Roosevelt to accept the domestic allotment program to control production. From 1933, when the Agricultural

Adjustment Administration was established, to 1940, when Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace resigned to run for vice-president, the planners made marked headway with the support of Roosevelt and Wallace. But the years of war, political considerations, and the hostility of Farm Bureau leaders combined to check the intellectuals. Their frustration was epitomized by the resignation of Tolley as chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in 1946 (Wilson remained in the Department of Agriculture "until driven from the place by Ezra Taft Benson in 1953").

The policies of the social scientists touched every section of the nation. And every section contributed individual intellectuals to the various branches of the USDA. For example, two ardent New Dealers who were natives of the Midwest were called to Washington from careers in the South: Paul Appleby, editor of a newspaper at Radford, Virginia, became the department's top administrative expert; and Carl C. Taylor, professor and dean at North Carolina State College, the department's leading sociologist.

Carefully and clearly the author reveals the personalities, the thinking, and the performances of his big cast. While his sympathies are with the social scientists, he does not deal unfairly with the farm leaders, businessmen, and politicians who opposed them. The net result is a work of excellent scholarship. Richard S. Kirkendall, who received his doctorate at the University of Wisconsin, is now associate professor of history at the University of Missouri.

Stuart Noblin

North Carolina State University at Raleigh

The Story of Surnames. By Leslie Gilbert Pine. (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc., 1966. Selected bibliography, index. Pp. 152. \$4.75.)

The Story of Heraldry. By Leslie Gilbert Pine. (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc., 1966. Illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index. Pp. 164. \$4.75.)

Some years ago L. L. Lohr of Lincoln County reported that at a family reunion of the great-grandchildren of a German immigrant named *Klein* the following were among those present: Peter Klein, John Kline, Jacob Cline, John Small, George Little, and William Short. Each of the last four of these surnames is, of course, an English/American adaptation or translation of the German word *klein*, and its

use in North Carolina reflects the rather casual tendency of Americans—and indeed many other nationalities—to change family names. Name changes, whether for convenience, snobbery, or whim, raise a problem that is perplexing to both historians and genealogists; and Leslie Gilbert Pine, in his *The Story of Surnames*, has provided a very useful historical and etymological introduction to the subject.

Mr. Pine, who is a former editor of *Burke's Peerage* and *Burke's Landed Gentry*, is concerned primarily with family names found in the British Isles, and with those of other nationalities only as these may influence British names. He demonstrates that surnames are a comparatively modern invention, dating in England only from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and from a later date in Wales and other parts of the British Isles. He accounts for them etymologically as deriving from place names, from patronymics, or from nicknames; and he includes informative chapters on names of Norman, Welsh, Scottish, Irish, and of miscellaneous derivation. He is quick to point out that little can be determined from a surname standing alone, and by way of example, he points out that a family named Stewart could possibly descend from the royal family of that name, from someone who acted as steward in that royal household, from someone who acted as "sty-ward" or pig farmer, or from someone who simply liked the sound of the name and adopted it.

For one who is curious about names that begin with O', Mc, Mac, M', or ap, those which are hyphenated like Plunkett-Ernlé-Drax and Grace-Groundling-Marchpole, *The Story of Surnames* is pleasant reading.

A companion volume to the above is *The Story of Heraldry*, dealing with those mysteries of coat armor which may be more perplexing to Americans than to their English cousins but for which there seems to be no less interest. Mr. Pine briefly discusses the origins and purposes of coats of arms (or crests, as these are sometimes called, erroneously), traces the history of heraldry and the College of Arms in Great Britain and the Commonwealth, and discusses recent and current armorial practices and techniques in Great Britain and America. He has included a useful glossary of some of the more frequently encountered heraldic terms, although not all of the terms used in the volume are included. There are a number of line drawings of coats of arms. Some of these illustrate heraldic problems and practices discussed in the text; others bear no apparent relation. This reviewer would have preferred to see more graphic illustrations of such heraldic descriptions as "azure a lion rampant double queued argent, crowned

or," "gules a fer de mouline ermine," and "checky or and azure, a fess gules," even though the colors called for in these examples could not be shown.

The romantic language of heraldry is not limited to coat armor descriptions in Old French. Such offices of the College of Arms as Garter, Clarenceux, and Norroy Kings of Arms; Richmond and Somerset Heralds; and Rouge Croix, Blue Mantle, Rouge Dragon, and Portcullis Pursuivants are included in the nomenclature of British heraldry very much alive today; and Mr. Pine discusses both the origins and the areas of responsibility for each of these.

Both *The Story of Surnames* and *The Story of Heraldry* include chapters on sources of information and suggested reading for those who wish to proceed beyond the introductory discussion which has been the author's intention.

C. F. W. Coker

State Department of Archives and History

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Cradle of the Colony: The History of Chowan County and Edenton, North Carolina, by Thomas C. Parramore, assistant professor of history at Meredith College, is a well-researched, entertaining, and readable study of Edenton and Chowan County from 1586 to the present day. The author describes the study hopefully as "a prelude to much work that needs to be done in exploring and synthesizing the voluminous early records in the Cupola House papers, the Hayes collection, the County Court records and many archives." Dr. Parramore touches upon at least a dozen subjects for which definitive studies are needed. The 92-page paperbound pamphlet is printed on a good quality of paper; it is attractively illustrated with portraits, engravings, photographs, and sketches. Copies may be purchased from the publisher of the study, the Edenton Chamber of Commerce, Edenton, N.C., 27932, for \$1.00 each.

History of the Providence Presbyterian Church, 1767-1967, by Louise Barber Matthews, has been written and published to commemorate the bicentennial of the church which is located near Matthews in Mecklenburg County. The author begins the story with the

origin of the Scotch-Irish peoples and their migration to America in the second decade of the eighteenth century and concludes with the present ministry of the Reverend Tom A. Cutting, Jr. The 338-page book, which is unusually long for a local church history, is heavily footnoted, albeit most of the documentation is based on secondary sources. Biographical sketches of the early ministers who served the Providence congregation, such as William Richardson, Robert Archibald, James McRee, Thomas Reese, James Wallis, and Samuel Williamson, provide engrossing reading. In addition to a 16-page section of photographs, original sketches have been contributed by the Charlotte artist Al Fincher. There are 15 appendixes, among which are lists of early missionaries, ministers, and supplies, land records, and a cemetery census. A bibliography and index have also been provided. The clothbound book, which is printed on a good, heavy stock, may be purchased from the Bicentennial Committee of the Providence Presbyterian Church, Route 1, Box 300, Matthews, N.C., 28105, at \$7.50 each.

The Genealogical Publishing Company, 521-523 St. Paul Place, Baltimore, Md., 31202, has reprinted in a clothbound edition *King's Mountain Men*, by Katherine Keogh White, which originally was published in 1924. The book is divided into two sections, the first of which is made up of a miscellany of court records of Watauga, Washington County, N.C. (later Tennessee), 1778-1782, letters to and from Lyman C. Draper, two militia rosters, an excerpt from the diary of Captain Alexander Chesney, and pension declarations filed by King's Mountain participants and their heirs. Section Two is composed of brief biographical sketches of soldiers who may or may not have served at King's Mountain. There is an appendix which lists Tennessee Revolutionary pensioners, a bibliography of principal works consulted in preparation of the study, and an index. Although the major portion of the book is based on original source material in the Lyman C. Draper King's Mountain Papers at the Lawson McGhee Free Library, Knoxville, Tennessee, the author also used primary sources in other southern states and secondary sources. The documentation and location of source material is obscure in many instances. The price of the 271-page book is \$7.50, and copies may be ordered from the publisher.

The *History of the Third Creek Presbyterian Church*, by the Reverend John Kerr Fleming, is the story of a historic old church, located

in the Third Creek Community near Cleveland in Rowan County. The author, a descendant of early settlers in the community, has done a commendable job in assembling information concerning the church. He was unable to determine the exact date of the church's birth, because early church records have been lost. Evidence points to 1775 as the most probable date, although services are known to have been conducted in the area as early as 1751. John Thompson, the first Presbyterian minister west of the Yadkin River, preached there around 1751. Reverend Samuel E. McCorkle, great educator and preacher, was the first permanent pastor (1788-1792). Many Third Creek families have left their marks on the church, state, and nation, including the Buntons (maternal ancestors of President Lyndon B. Johnson), Flemings, Grahams, Johnstons, Knoxes (maternal ancestors of President James Knox Polk), Morrisons, Phifers, Ramsays, and many others. Perhaps the most notable person to have lived in the area was Peter Stuart Ney, the mysterious schoolmaster, who claimed to be Napoleon's marshal, and who is buried in the Third Creek Cemetery. Appendixes include names of ministers, officers, men in military service, and persons buried in the cemetery; an index is also included. Unfortunately there is no complete list of church members. Copies of the 199-page book, which is bound in hardcovers, may be obtained for \$6.00 from the Office of the Synod of North Carolina, Box 10785, Raleigh, N.C., 27605.

The Clan McBryde: A Brief History of John and Mary Wilkerson McBryde and Their Descendants, by A. M. Patterson, Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy (ret.), is, as the title indicates, a genealogical history. In a brief chapter on "The Highland Scots," the author discusses the origin of the Scots, the clans, and the McBrydes, and the coming of the McBrydes to the Cape Fear area of North Carolina in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One chapter is devoted to the genealogy of John and Mary Wilkerson McBryde, and one each to eight of their nine children who lived to adulthood and bore offspring. Also included is an illustration and a description of a coat of arms for the Clan McBryde, and an index. The work has been produced by offset in an 8½ inch by 11 inch format; the print is legible and the information is presented in a well-organized manner, which facilitates use of the book for reading or research. Copies of the 153-page paper-bound volume are \$6.00 each and may be ordered from the author at Box 1881, Raleigh, N.C., 27602.

Charles Crossfield Ware, curator of the Carolina Disciplina Library, North Carolina Disciples of Christ, is the author of *South Carolina Disciples of Christ: A History*, published by the Christian Churches of South Carolina. The 216-page book is printed on a glossy paper; it includes 86 photographs, an index, and a chapter giving the life spans of 239 individuals who were influential in the early history of the sect in the Palmetto State. Copies are available in the cloth-bound edition at \$3.00 each and in a paperbound edition at \$2.00 each. Orders may be placed with the publisher at Box 3636, Charleston, S.C., 29400, or with the author at Box 1164, Wilson, N.C., 27893.

Civil War Chronicle is a retelling of the history of the Civil War in modern newspaper style as written by "reporter" John W. Wheeler, a career officer in the United States Air Force. The format of the book is a simulated two-page tabloid, 11½ inches by 14½ inches, bearing headlines such as "Federals Routed at Manassas," "Rebels Strike at Chickamauga!," and "Lee Surrenders Rebel Army!" The 126-page volume includes 404 illustrations and is available in a clothbound edition at \$13.50 and in a paperbound edition at \$10.50. Send orders to Fireside Books, 10 South Brentwood Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo., 63105.

The Richmond County Historical Society, Augusta, Georgia, has published *A Guide to the Study of Augusta and Richmond County, Georgia*, compiled and edited by A. Ray Rowland, curator of the society. The 69-page paperbound booklet includes a listing of general works on the history of Georgia, newspapers published in Augusta, Richmond County Courthouse records, and a bibliography listing books, pamphlets, articles, theses, and dissertations dealing with the history of Augusta and Richmond County. Copies of the booklet may be ordered at \$1.00 each from the society, c/o Augusta College Library, 2500 Walton Way, Augusta, Ga., 30904.

The Whig Party of Missouri, by John Vollmer Mering, covers the history of the Whig party in that state from the election of 1824, "when some of Henry Clay's supporters joined with John Quincy Adams' few Missouri followers," to 1855, "when the General Assembly failed to elect a senator." The 275-page book, which is clothbound, includes notes, a bibliography, a county organization of the Whig party in Missouri, and an index. The author received a Ph.D. degree

from the University of Missouri in 1960, and this work is Volume XLI in the *University of Missouri Studies* series. Copies may be purchased from the University of Missouri Press, Columbia, Mo., 65201, for \$5.00 each.

The National Archives has recently published a new finding aid to facilitate use of its holdings, *List of Foreign Service Post Records in the National Archives*, which is Number 9 in its *Special Lists Series*, compiled by Mark G. Eckhoff and Alexander P. Mavro, and revised by Mario Fenyo and John Highbarger. This list is divided into two parts, "Records of diplomatic posts, 1788-1945," and "Records of consular posts, 1790-1949." In addition to a preface and an introduction, this 35-page pamphlet includes two appendixes, "Geographical list of consular posts and agencies," and "Regulations governing the maintenance of Foreign Service post records." For copies of this list and others in the series, write to Publications Sales Branch, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C., 20408.

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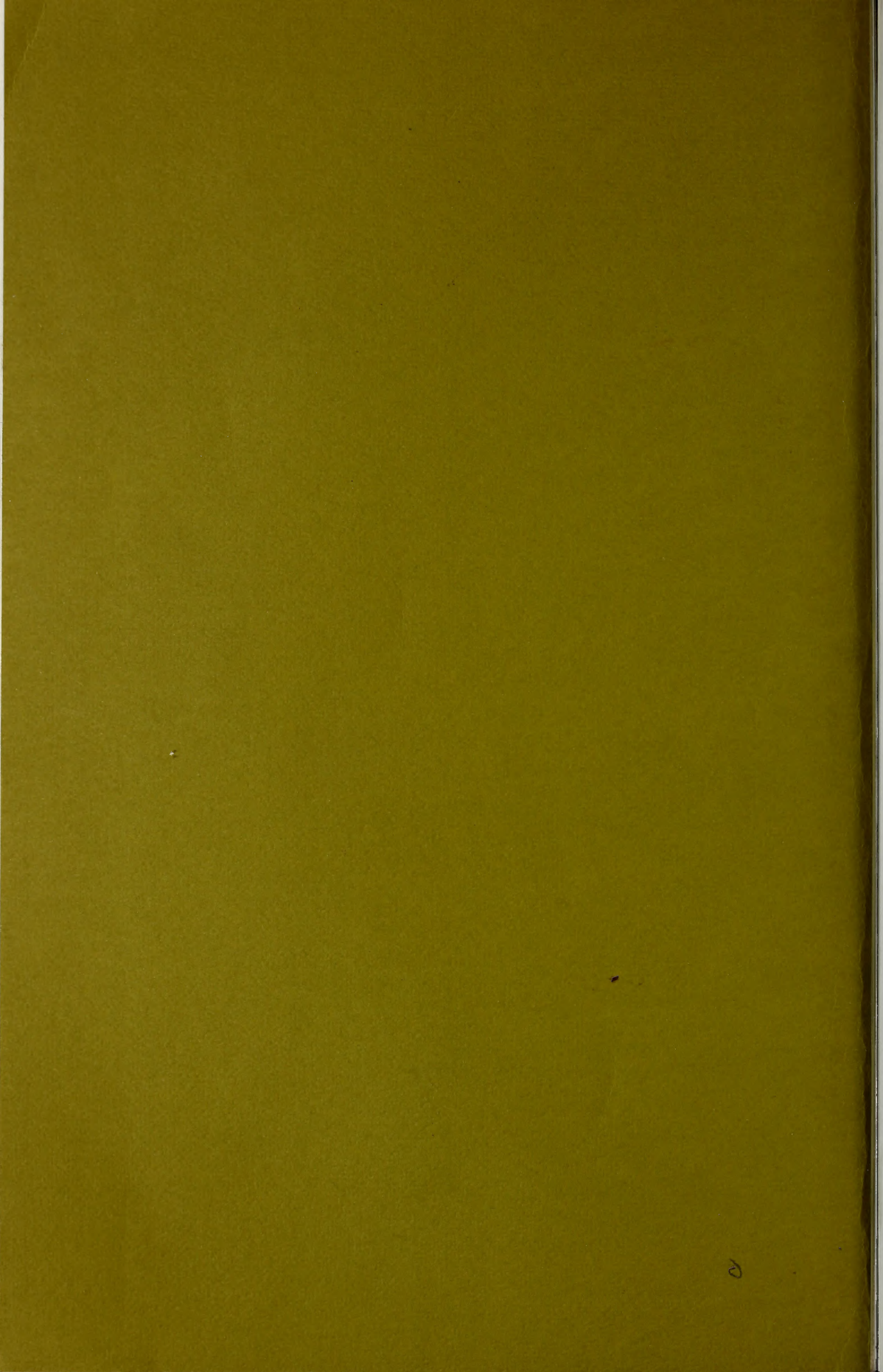
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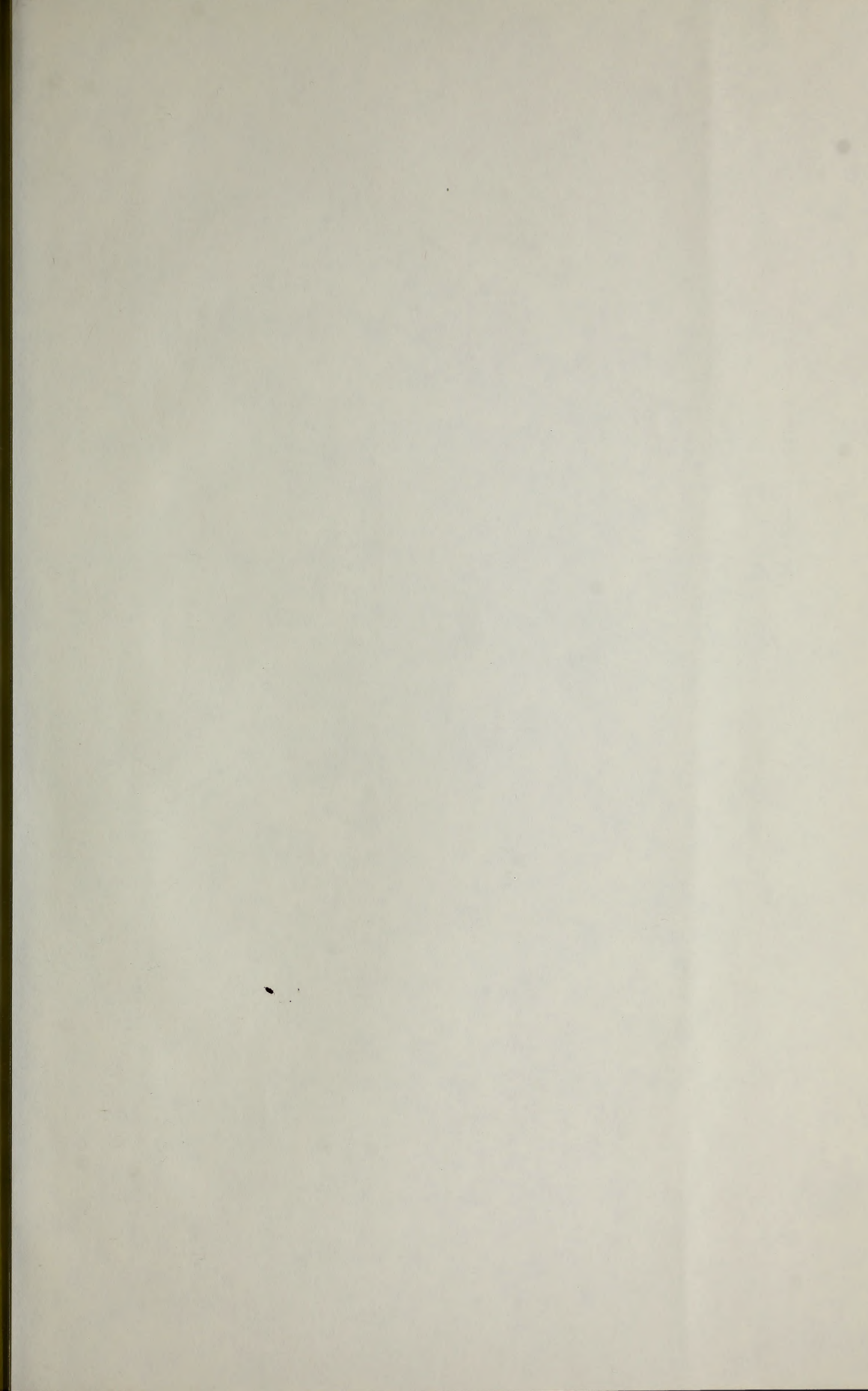
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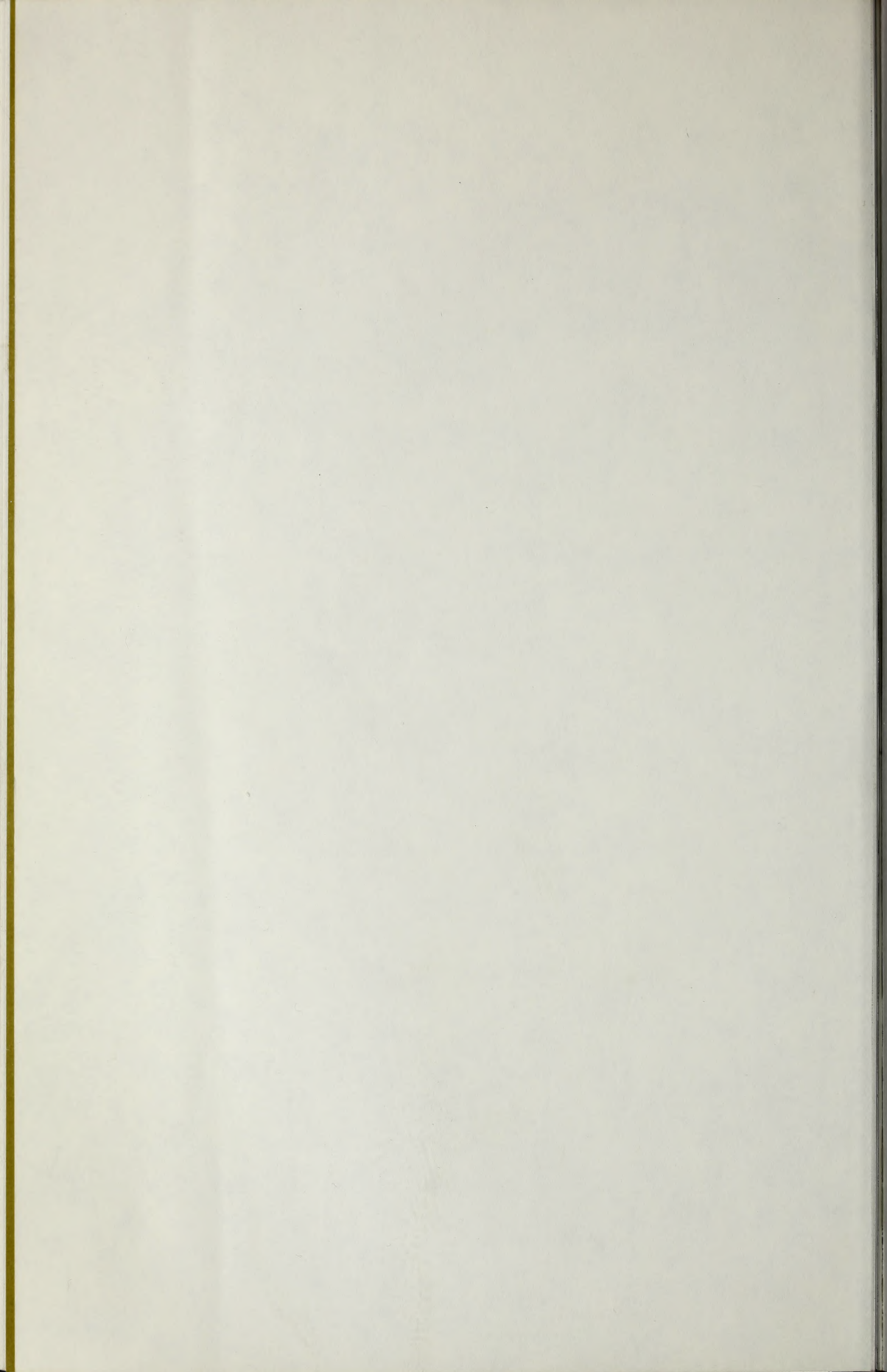
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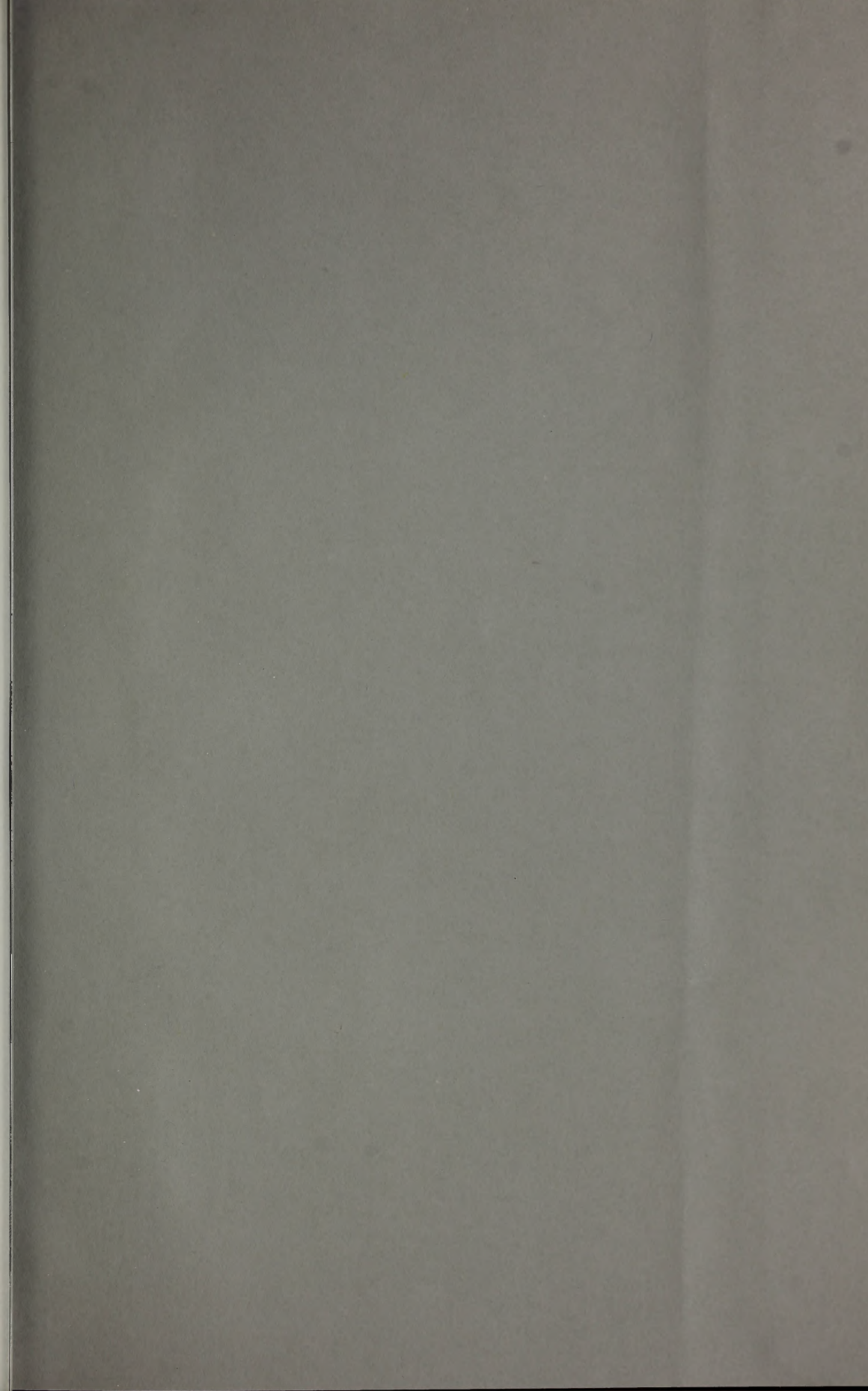
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